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THE LESGHIAN LEADER OF THE 1861 REVOLT IN DAGHESTAN.

THE
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD:

BEING

*A Popular Description of the Characteristics, Condition, and Customs
of the Human Family.*

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Illustrated.

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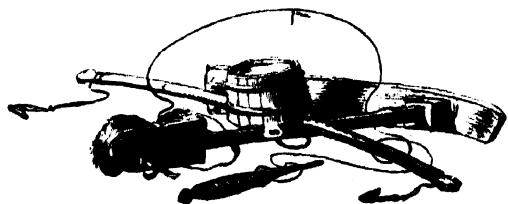
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THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

THE DIOSCURIAN GROUP: CIRCASSIANS; MIZHDZHEDZHI; GEORGIANS; LESGIANS.

N the preceding volumes of this work we have touched, in greater or less detail, on all the principal races except those which are distinctly classed as European, albeit under that name are comprised many different nationalities. Here and there we have been compelled, by the exigencies of the classification adopted, to follow across the frontier of Asia, far into Europe, in some cases even to the shores of the Baltic and the North Sea, aberrant members of people whose original homes were on the other side of the ~~mountains~~, and where still reside the broken remnant of the stock from whence they sprang. This and the following volume will treat almost entirely of the polished people of Europe. But even in Europe we are still linked with Asia. It is the *officina gentium*, the great motherland of that western extension of it which in its turn has, in the maturity of a higher and more progressive civilisation, poured back its legions to subdue the land wherein the ancestors of "the Europeans" dwelt in times before the dawn of history, or sent forth its teachers to spread among the benighted tribesmen of the East the science and the literature, the creeds and the arts, of the West.

As we shall in due time learn, there is every probability in favour of the theory so generally held, that Europe is peopled from High Asia, one branch of the Aryan stock going over the Himalayas into India, a second, not necessarily at once, but in successive waves, passing over the wide plains, until they reached the fair countries on the shores of the Mediterranean, or those within the range of the moist winds of the Atlantic. Whether they found there other races, with whom they amalgamated or whom they exterminated, is a question which it is necessary to discuss in some detail, though we have already had to debate it in another place.* We shall likewise have to investigate how far the remains in the caves, or in the refuse heaps, or in the rude green mounds of pre-historic Europe, enable us to state with confidence something regarding the rude septs which inhabited the continent before those Aryans arrived. But something still remains to be done: we are not yet clear of Asia. In the Magyars or Hungarians (Vol. IV., pp. 286, 287)—as it was hinted at the time when the name came to be mentioned—we have an Asiatic people whose entry into Europe dates from a comparatively recent period, and whose arrival in the

* "Countries of the World," Vol. VI., pp. 226–230.

parent country history enables us to trace. The wandering gipsies who roam over every country of Europe, and have even found their way to America, are also comparatively late Asiatic immigrants. They are in Europe but not of it.

Accordingly, before describing the ethnographical relations and the modern names of peoples like the Germans or the Italians, who are distinctively "European," and have sent colonies into every region under the sun, we must devote some chapters to the peoples mentioned, so as to start unhampered to the consideration of the Celts, the Latins, the Slavs, and the Teutons, to the last of whom we English, for the most part, belong. But, hanging on the borders of the two continents, half in and half out of Europe, are various peoples who will be the theme of the present chapter. Their proper home is the Caucasus, but many of them, either through that irresistible impulse which leads nations west instead of east, or, owing to the force of circumstances, have settled in Europe, in Eastern Russia—which is more Asiatic than anything else—or in Turkey, where, it is needless to remind the reader, a true Asiatic race has been settled for more than four centuries (Vol. IV., p. 263), in full enjoyment of the empire they wrested from the Byzantines, and the races which had been subdued by the Roman conquerors, but which in their turn are inch by inch gradually recovering their former losses, and driving the Osmanli and their co-religionists across the Bosphorus, which they passed on a day so fatal to the civilisation of South-Eastern Europe.

WHO ARE THE DIOSCURIANS?

When Blumenbach, the famous ethnologist, was arranging the skulls in his collection, he found a solitary one from Georgia, which was the finest he had seen; that of a Greek was next. Accordingly, the well-developed skull was taken as the type of the highest intellectual power, and from the race to which it belonged, living in the vicinity of the Caucasus, he termed their supposed allies *Caucasians*. Under this head he included all the inhabitants of Europe, except the Finns and Lapps; in Asia, the Hindoos, Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Jews, Phœnicians, inhabitants of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, &c.; and in Africa, the Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Moors: a most heterogeneous assemblage, few of them alike in any particular, except that they have well-developed skulls and a high "facial angle," i.e., their foreheads are high and their noses the antipodes of flat. But such was the influence of the great German writer that the term has been kept up to the present day. "Never has a single head done more harm to science, than was done in the way of posthumous mischief by the head of this well-shaped female from Georgia." The broad application of the term *Caucasian* was, in course of time, seen to be inconvenient and incorrect, and accordingly Dr. Latham proposed to limit it to the area of the Caucasus proper; and, to avoid confusion, to use the term *Dioscurian* for the races included under the term *Caucasian* in the limited sense of the term. It means the populations between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and who accordingly inhabit the range of the Caucasus. It means those tribes which, like the Circassians, have given so much trouble to the Russians. It also comprises the much more docile Georgians, who are good subjects of the Czar. Various other allied populations, which we shall presently note, are likewise included under the term *Dioscurians*. The physiognomy

of the races is European rather than Mongol, but their language monosyllabic rather than European. The term also comprises people having very similar institutions, which the Caucasians of Blumenbach certainly had not. For instance, under his classification "Greek art was Caucasian; Roman jurisprudence, Caucasian; Jewish monotheism, Caucasian; Anglo-Saxon freedom, Caucasian; the American institution of slavery, Caucasian; and even French fashions and German philosophy were Caucasian. From all this it soon followed that the least Caucasian of the great Caucasian races, so called, were the natives of Mount Caucasus itself."

By some theorists the Caucasus is conjectured to have been the refuge of broken peoples driven from their homes on either side during the endless migrations which have been going on in pre-historic times. But this view is not now held by many ethnologists, and has been combated by Virchow on data derived from a study of the skulls found in the ancient graves. The Caucasus is the area of almost innumerable dialects; it is a "mountain of language"—to use the happy phrase applied to it—harsh, unmusical, and hard for one not to the manner born to pronounce with even approximate accuracy; and in several cases so wide apart as to be almost distinct tongues. But, with the exception of the language of the Ossetines, who are of Persian stock, none of them are akin to those spoken elsewhere, a fact of which it is quite possible to make too much.

The region the Dioscurians occupy being broken up into isolated valleys and inaccessible fastnesses—conditions that favour the formation of a variety of communities—we find the Dioscurian area, though not large, containing within it numerous subdivisions, only the leading groups of which we can mention. Much has been written about Caucasian ethnology; but though an endless variety of tribes has been described, these tribes are very similar in customs, only differing from each other in linguistic peculiarities. The isolated position of some of the tribes has necessarily caused changes in their language, but their habits remain much the same as those of their neighbours. Pliny mentions that in his day one hundred and thirty interpreters were necessary before business could be transacted in the market-place of Dioscurias* (the modern Inzgaur, p. 22). Even if this were one of the exaggerated stories of the time, it still shows the multiplicity of tongues spoken in that area. Leaving out of account the Armenian, and the Ossetine or Irôn, which we have included under the Persian group (Vol. III., p. 287), most ethnologists on philological grounds make out four broad groups of Dioscurians, namely, (1), the Circassians; (2), the Mizhdzhedzhi (Mizhjeji); (3), the Georgians; and (4), the Lesghians; and these we may adopt without discussing whether the grounds on which these families have been founded are solid or not. It is a disputed point. Few scholars, for instance, believe in the affinity of the Dioscurian tongues being more monosyllabic than polysyllabic. Professor Keane tries to group those known under three families, though in reality the affinity of many current in Daghestan is so uncertain that it is impossible to reduce them to a common origin. M. Smirnoff† asserts that some in South Daghestan have already arrived at the inflecting stage, while those spoken by the Georgians and Circassians are still agglutinating, though links between the two can be detected. However, all agree that in physical peculiarities the races speaking it are in no way akin to the monosyllabic-tongued races—Chinese, Tibetan, Siamese, or Burmese.

* Hence the term *Dioscurian*.

† *Revue d'Anthropologie*, April 15th, 1878.

On the contrary, the Persians, Greeks, Italians, and the higher castes of Hindoos, are the people to whom in personal appearance they are most nearly allied; facts which lend some support to the old idea of these being all Caucasians, in the widest sense of the term.



CIRCASSIAN WEAPONS.

The beauty of the Circassian and Georgian women is proverbial;* but we must remember

* What is known as the Caucasian type is so generally adopted as the type of beauty that, as Rohlf's tells us, even the Negroes admire a woman of their own race who in any way approaches it, by having a tolerably high nose and thin-nish lips.

that it is only the finest specimens of these ladies who find their way into Europe, a system of artificial selection going on for the wife markets of the Osmanli Turks, the occupants of whose harems are mostly of these two nationalities. Still there is little doubt that both men and women are well formed and handsome, though possibly these qualities have been



CIRCASSIAN IMMIGRANT (TURKEY).

exaggerated in the narratives of susceptible travellers of an imaginative turn of mind. Most of them have long faces, and thin, straight noses, though a tendency to a Mongol cast of face is becoming more and more pronounced (Plate 41, and page 5).*

* Pallas, an excellent authority, remarks, "I have met with a greater number of beauties among them than in any other unpolished nation," an opinion evidently shared by Mrs. Blunt and Colonel Baker, so far as the ladies in Turkey

CIRCASSIANS.

The *Circassians*, Tcherkess, or Cherkess, as it is sometimes written,* call themselves Adighé and Absne,† though the former are more exclusively mountaineers. At one time they spread themselves over the plains to the north of the Caucasus, but by the encroachment of the Turks, and latterly of the Russians, they are now confined to their present area, except when they have not emigrated to Turkey. Divided into numerous tribes, they have all displayed an inveterate hatred of Russia, though the Natoukhais, being the most zealous Moslems, were most bitter in the war they waged against the Czar, and after peace was declared left for Turkey almost to a man, as did the Gatioukhais, who were among the last to abandon resistance to the Slavs as a hopeless struggle. The Abadzekis were compelled by a famine in 1846 to submit to Russian rule, but before they could be forced into subjection after their next outbreak, they emigrated rather than bear the conqueror's yoke. Altogether, they do not number as many as a million souls, though at one time, when they inhabited the Kuban Valley and the Crimea, they were much more numerous. During the Middle Ages, before Turkish barbarism rooted out the culture infused among these people by the Greeks, Venetians, and Genoese, who left among them a sort of Christianity which commingled legendary with traces of their primitive paganism and the later Islamism, still lives among the wild Shapzougs, some of whom are affirmed to be little better than atheists, the Circassians were a much more civilised race than now. Internal factions induced one or other of the parties to appeal to the Russians for help, the end of which was the beginning of those struggles, which terminated in 1864 with the occupation, if not subjection, of the country for which Schamyl and his various prophets, Khadji-Mahomet, Sulieman Effendi, Mahomet-Amine, "The Sheik," and Safer Bey had fought so long.

The Circassians proper inhabit the country along the Black Sea coast from near Anapa to Pitzunta, on the northern slope of the mountains and towards the Kuban Valley. But the emigration of nearly half a million of them to the different provinces of the Turkish Empire, a fact without precedent in modern history, has left the whole country between the Caucasus and the Black Sea almost without inhabitants of this race. In Turkey some of their admirers will declare that they have deteriorated. For the sake of old associations, and the romantic glories which once on a time surrounded these heroic children of the mountains, let us trust that this is so, though we fear that at no time were the Tcherkess paragons of virtue, though brave, patriotic, and of patriarchal simplicity of manners. Their government was a sort of feudal system, under which the free Circassians were divided into three ranks—the princes, the nobles, and the peasants, who again were split up into families, are concerned. Reineggs, on the contrary, cannot understand "what can have given occasion to the generally received prejudice in favour of the female Tcherkessian [Circassian]. A short leg, a small foot, and glaring red hair, constitute a Tcherkessian beauty." This is also the opinion of the late Mr. Barkley, who affirms that though he saw hundreds of them, there was not one with the least pretensions to beauty. Their faces were too long and too narrow, and "gave one the impression that their heads had been squeezed between two boards and flattened." Then, their noses were too long, their mouths too near the middle line of their faces, and their complexions of a hue like dull lead.

* The *C* must be sounded as in Italian, i.e., as the *ch* in *chest*.

† They are the Azoukh of the Absne. "Circassian" is derived from "Tsarkasoi," the name applied to them by the Byzantine historians.

tribes, or clans, some of which were powerful enough to do battle vigorously against each other. The slaves, for the most part made up of prisoners taken in war, were employed in cultivating the soil or in performing domestic services for their owners.

Yet the Circassian dignitaries were only the mandatories of the people. In themselves they had no power, except what was delegated to them by the tribesmen met in council to decide on questions of peace and war. There were no written laws—only traditions, or, among the tribes who had fully embraced Mohammedanism, the precepts of the Koran—but the decisions of the village elders were invariably obeyed without murmuring. Science, or art, or literature, was unknown. The wisdom of the sages, the legends preserved in verse, and the knowledge each man had acquired during his lifetime, were the sole sources of information among them. Like the ancient Spartans, they were taught only to ride, shoot, fence, and hunt, but, unfortunately, not to speak the truth. To harden their bodies for the life of toil and hardship which might be their lot was the main aim of these mountaineers in the education of their children, and even the training in expressing their thoughts concisely, readily, and in appropriate language, was dictated by the hope that this accomplishment would enable the lad to gain a lofty place in the councils of the nation, the tribe, or the village.

"Marriage by force," an institution which we have so frequently had to notice, was in vogue. After a suitor had paid for his bride—so many oxen, sheep, or horses—he was expected to come with his friends fully armed, and carry her from her father's house. In his own household the Circassian was absolute. He rarely practised polygamy, though the Koran permits it, and was said to be a reasonably exemplary husband in most of the graver relations of life. Respect for old age was carried to an extreme extent. The younger brothers all rose when the elder entered, and remained silent while he spoke. Hospitality was a part of their religion. The most implacable enemy of a Circassian was safe so long as he remained under his roof, and certain of an escort to the next village after he left. But no lapse of time, no generosity, would ever efface the memory of a wrong, or make the necessity of revenge less sacred. A slain relation had to be expiated by meting out the same fate to a relation of the murderer. If, however, the assassin chose to pay a sum of money, and carry off from the family of the wronged man a young child, bring it up as his own, and restore it when its education was completed, the offence was, by Circassian law, considered to have been wiped out if it so pleased the avenger of blood. Under the roof of a woman whose hand he had touched any one was safe from his enemy. Theft in itself was not a crime; but it was the height of disgrace to be discovered, and for the thief to be compelled, in the face of his tribe, to return the stolen article to its rightful owner. This was an ineffaceable reflection on the adroitness of the robber. The arts of peace could scarcely be cultivated by a people so perpetually engaged in warfare as the Circassians. Sheep and cattle were their main riches, and the sale of their fair daughters—who, it may be added, were willing chattels—to the harems of the wealthy pashas and princes of the East, was the principal means of acquiring coin or its equivalent. A lively Tcherkess girl regarded the prospect of being immured in the seraglio of a wealthy Stambouli as the luckiest of lots; it saved her from the dreadful *ennui* of a village, and the not less certain hardship of a peasant's life. The Turkish Government, after the deportation of the tribesmen, passed a law that daughters were no longer to be sold. But this law is practically a dead letter, though the knavery of the

Circassians has made connoisseurs in this description of uxorial stock rather chary in effecting a purchase, unless they can be sure that the vendor is the person entitled to conclude the bargain. The majority of the emigrant Circassians were settled in Bulgaria, where the stoical peasants rendered every assistance to the helpless creatures so strangely brought amongst them,



TATAR OF PIATIGORSK.

until, as Mrs. Blunt so aptly puts it, "Circassian settlements started up like weeds by the side of the peaceful and thriving villages." How badly they requited the generosity of their neighbours history has fully recorded. At best they were but lazy farmers. All day, according to the testimony of the Bulgarians, even before the war, they lounged about in gala dress, decked with rich arms and jewels. After they had sown and harvested a few bushels of millet for the use of their families, they considered the necessity for labour

at an end ; the rest of their supplies they stole. Never were there more adroit cattle thieves. The country was perfectly scourged by their depredations. They organised themselves into bands, to steal stock, and pass their plunder from village to village until they reached Rodosto and Gallipoli, where they were shipped to Asia Minor, and exchanged for other animals not honestly come by. Mrs. Blunt tells us that a gentleman wishing to procure a good horse from a Circassian, asked the owner if the animal was a fast trotter. The seller, with a malicious smile, replied, "Sir, he will take you to the world's end so long as you are



TATAR WOMAN OF KASAK.

careful not to turn his head in the direction of Philippopolis, but in that case I do not guarantee him!" In another instance, a party of Circassians met a waggon, on which the driver was fast asleep, unyoked the oxen, and, two of them taking the place of the captured animals, kept the cart going while the others escaped with the team ; then, after their accomplices had gone a fair distance, the "draught-men" gave the cart a violent jerk, to arouse the unsuspecting driver, and, hastily saluting him, disappeared across country. Even before their horrible misdeeds became the opprobrium of Turkey, they gave the Porte an endless amount of trouble, and though protected in some high quarters in consequence of their close connection through family ties, were generally disliked and distrusted, especially by the people who had not the same reason for shielding them as had the pashas and other wealthy connoisseurs

in Circassian beauties. Haughty, insolent, and swaggering, they are, nevertheless, cowardly when fairly matched, and in all cases cruel and false.

Entirely without education, the evil passions of the Circassians are uncontrolled by any notions of moral, religious, and civil obligations, and hence the disgrace that their conduct in Bulgaria brought upon a name which, entirely owing to their long resistance to the Russians, was so generally respected as that of a gallant people. At one time there was some talk of removing them to Asia Minor. But luckily this step, which would have been fraught with such unhappy consequences to the wretched people among whom they would have played their old pranks, was never taken, though, if they are not to be impatriated once more, the best thing to do is to plant colonies of them on the waste lands of Asia Minor, in the close vicinity of half-savage tribes like themselves, who would, at all events, hold them in check, if they did not improve the morals or manners of these unamiable mountaineers. In brief, the gift of the Circassians to Turkey was a fatal one. The Russians, by either expelling the people of the Caucasus, or permitting them to go into voluntary exile, did not rise in the good opinion of sentimental Europe. They could, however, afford to bear with equanimity this addition to their unpopularity, since they knew well that Turkey, which was praised for the liberality—the philanthropy, indeed, with which the fair ladies and their kinsfolk were accorded an asylum—would have to pay dearly for its ill-advised hospitality. Most of us must confess to have shared a contrary opinion, for in 1866 we were all more or less Tcherkessophils. Moreover, the Tatar—or Tartar, to use the common spelling—immigration of half a century previously, had added to the population of Bessarabia many thousands of peaceable and industrious artisans and labourers (pp. 8, 9, and 12). The first arrivals, emaciated by hunger, stricken by small-pox, dysentery, and fever, were not calculated to confirm the favourable impression conveyed by their predecessors. Never did so hungry, so miserable a herd of wretches inundate a peaceful town as those who landed in Varna about the year named, and whose dead bodies strewed the beach a few hours after the human cargo had been discharged. They knew no Turkish, and the police knew no Circassian or any of its endless dialects. Starving for lack of the commonest necessities of life, they fought for the little food thrown to them like a pack of hungry dogs, until the survivors were scattered among the Bulgarian villages, the inhabitants of which were compelled to support them, and build houses, and provide a pair of oxen, a cart, and seed corn for each family of those who, ten years later, became the scourge of the country.

Mr. Barkley's opinion of the female Circassian beauty has already been mentioned (foot-note, p. 6). But even he, though seeing nothing to admire in the women, except their small hands and feet, acknowledges that the men are magnificent; in short, that they are to the rest of the human race what Arab horses are to humbler steeds. Just as a pretty Circassian girl is rare, so a plain Circassian man is seldom to be met with. No people have more beautifully-shaped heads, more perfectly chiselled features, or sharper, more intelligent, and yet bolder expressions. “They are quick and active in every movement, and as restless as a weasel (an animal they greatly resemble in character), but the most notable part about them is their hands and feet. I observed hundreds of them, and never saw one that an English girl of sixteen might not envy for shape and size,” a fact which may be readily tested by examining the smallness of the handles of any of the numerous Circassian

knives which are among any collection of arms or Oriental "curios" (p. 4). The Turk and the Tcherkess are the antipodes of each other. The one is quiet, dignified, and, above all, slow. He is never in a hurry, whether "in making a treaty to save his country, or in taking his watch out of his belt to see the time." The other is, on the contrary, one mass of energy ; always in a hurry, never silent for a moment. Unless he is *in extremis* a Circassian never lolls, seldom ever walks, and moves so rapidly that he may be known a mile off by his sharp, short step, upright carriage, and rapid movement ; and though the race hate labour with a hatred which is undeniably sincere, they talk, when together, as eagerly and as fast as if life and death depended on getting out the words.

Toil, however, they will not. They permitted the peasants to build their houses without extending a helping hand ; and it was only in individual cases that they did not eat the corn and bullocks which were given them, instead of using them for the purposes of making a beginning in agriculture. The Bulgarians, for the first time, had to keep a patrol to watch the new pests, and it is only fair to say that when the depredators were caught, Christian and Turk alike joined in shooting them down like vermin, and burying them with as little ceremony. The very graves were opened for the sake of stripping the dead of the few rags which covered their poor clay. The "Tcherkess kurt" ("Circassian wolf") was openly cursed before his face, yet no man ever knew him to retaliate, or even to look angry or astonished.

Those who were colonised at Trebizond were not one whit better than their countrymen in Europe. As Mr. Consul Stevens reported, "they are generally poor, and of an indolent character. They have no regard for cleanliness, which prevents the alloy of disease in their ranks, and which is making such fearful havoc among them, the deaths averaging from 120 to 150 per diem, out of 25,000. They live huddled together, infecting one another. They sell their rations and clothing distributed to them by the authorities ; they sell their children for a few piastres ; they disinter their dead at night to steal the calico wrappers which envelop the bodies, and then abandon the corpses in the open fields. Lastly, they concealed several deaths from the local authorities, with a view to continue in the receipt of the rations of the deceased individuals ; and one corpse was discovered hidden for eleven days in one of the tents, other emigrants occupying the same covering without the slightest reluctance." This emigration has never quite ceased, though some Circassians have settled in the government lands of the Russian steppes. Since the achievement of Bulgarian independence they have had to shift their quarters to a more congenial region south of the Balkans, though wherever they go they carry with them their invincible propensity for thieving, of which they are extremely proud, though the young men will confess with humility that in this accomplishment they are far inferior to their fathers, whose skill in horse stealing is now a lost art. Altogether, the Turks have long ago repented the readiness with which they received amongst them these refractory tribesmen, who are governable only so long as they have their own way, and good subjects when there is nothing to steal. Even as irregular soldiers they have proved a failure. When the immigration first began, Sir Henry Bulwer advised the Porte to form them into a military colony along the Armenian frontier. But though this suggestion was not fully acted upon, the 350,000 or more settled among the peaceful villages of Syria and Asia Minor form an element as troublesome to their neighbours and dangerous to the authorities as the less numerous hordes on the other side of the Dardanelles.

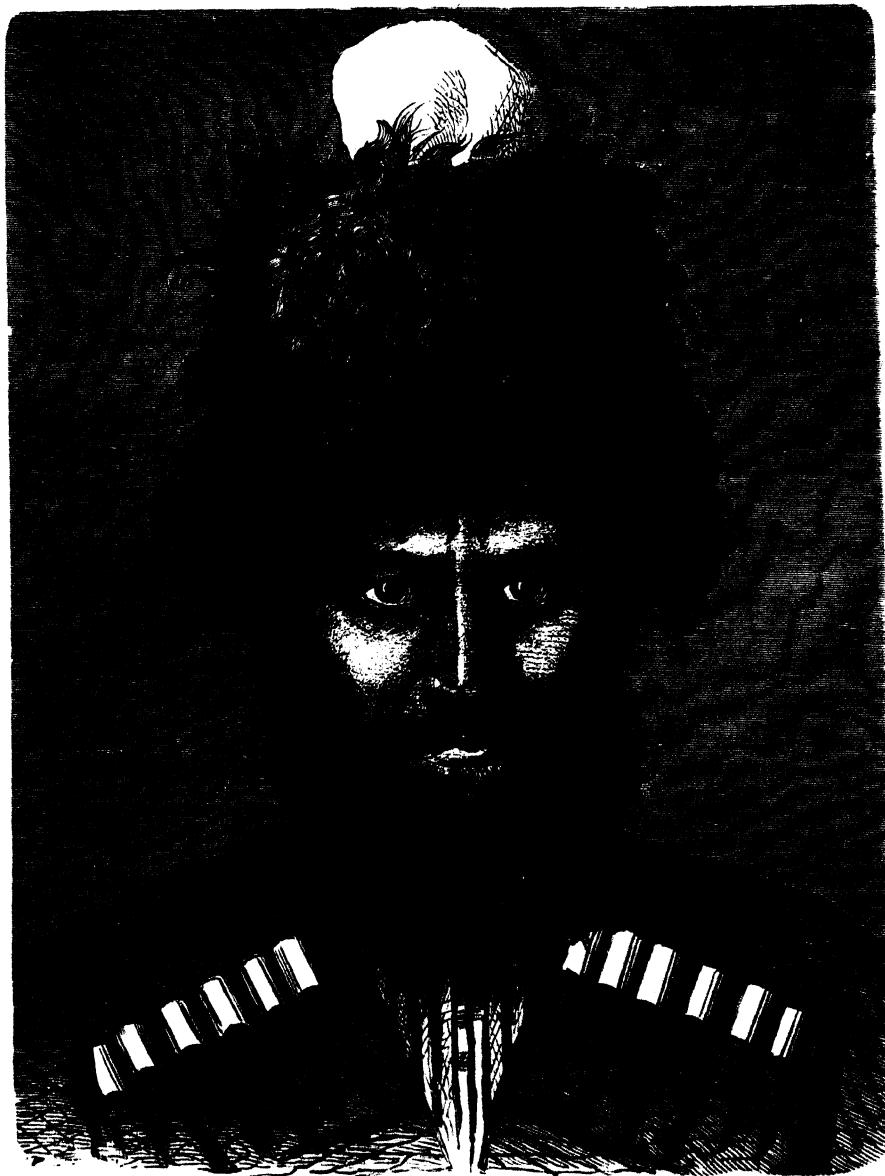
The *Absne* (plural of Abkhazi), or Azega, or Abassi, by all of which names they are known, inhabit, or did inhabit, the beautiful country between the Rivers Khamysh and Ingur, and



YOUNG TATAR NOBLE.

the sea-coast between Sukhum Kaleh and the Straits of Yenikale. One half of them retain their original Christianity; the other half are more or less stringent Moslems. In many respects they differ widely from their allies, the Circassians proper. Bodenstedt tells us that though their language resembles that of the Adighé, they are distinguished from their neighbours by their

democratic form of government, and their more irregular features and medium stature. But in the moral or immoral characteristics they only too closely resemble their kindred. Vindictive,



KABARDONIAN.

ferocious, bloodthirsty, and thievish, they subsist by brigandage wherever this is possible. Of true religion they have very little. Christianity was first introduced into their country by the Emperor Justinian, but the seed showing little fruit, Queen Thamar had the people re-baptised. The advent of the Turks, however, frustrated her object, for the Absne, cajoled by the

promises of their conquerors became for the most part Mohammedans. Still, a corrupt form of Christianity has always maintained a footing in Abkhazia, mingled with some paganism in the shape of the widespread "animism," which regards old trees, particularly oaks, with such veneration that every tribe is said to possess one of these sacred objects. Next to the Suani country, in Georgia, Abkhazia is the region in which ruins of Christian churches are most abundant, and in many places there are signs of a commercial prosperity which has long ago vanished. The Abkhazian pirates were even in the time of the Genoese the scourge of the Black Sea, and after the reduction of the Crimea by the Ottoman Turks their peculiarly-shaped galleys became more formidable to merchantmen than ever. Of their primitive paganism very little is known, except that they neither buried nor burned their dead, but like some American Indians whose acquaintance we have made (Vol. I., p. 93), put them into wooden boxes, hung them on the trees of their great beech forests, and then drew auguries from the way in which they were swayed by the wind. Most likely—as Latham has conjectured—their divinities were those of the Tcherkess, those of thunder, fire, wind, water, travellers, the woods, oxen, and sheep. Their princes, so far as their original organisation is now maintained, are called Tahvadi, the nobles Anystha—the former being regarded as of royal blood, and descended from one of the Georgian Eristavs. But the Abkhazian dignitary has to be content with a very undetermined amount of authority. In time of peace his rule is recognised so far as suits his turbulent subjects, but should any threaten the country, the Tahvad becomes the military leader of a section of his people, though it does not necessarily follow that his adherents always obey his commands. Since the Russian occupation of the country the princes have become subjects of the Czar, and as officers in the army have been employed against the more independent tribes of their own nation. On the other hand, some of the minor chiefs have fought desperately against the conquerors, and have only yielded when resistance was no longer possible. Like all the Dioscurians, the Absne are divided and subdivided into endless tribes, sub-tribes, and sub-tribelets, and these again into sections and sub-sections, which can be distributed into minor groups, which might tax the patience—and the omniscience—of those who try to tabulate mankind into a "system," in which every race is labelled under cut-and-dried headings. Where they came from it is now impossible to say, though, so far as aboriginality can be predicated of any people on the face of the earth, the Absne may, Dr. Latham thinks, be regarded as aboriginal. The wise men among themselves declare that they originated in Armenia simply because some fragments of their imperfect and obsolete Christianity are of Armenian origin. Others will affirm Egypt to have been the land of their birth, and a third opinion makes them descendants of an Abyssinian colony. But none of these traditions deserve any notice, since they are not really the independent beliefs of the people themselves, but the "notions which half-learned men have put into the heads of men who are wholly unlearned." Letters the Absne have none, and what little is known about their history is derived in part from the Greek and Latin writers, or from the annals of the more polished Georgians. About 20,000 of the Absne migrated into Turkish territory, so that the country now occupied by the remnant is a narrow strip along the Black Sea shore, extending from Pitzunta to the confines of Mingrelia, though the Tatars separate them from the Kabardonians, a kindred race.

The *Kabardonians* are the Circassians of the eastern part of the country, namely, those

on the water system of the Terek, and who inhabit the Great and Little Kabardah. But, unlike their kindred, they have never offered much opposition to the Russians, and have for many years been peaceful subjects of the Czar (pp. 13, 16).

MIZHDZHEDZHI.

The people who are designated under this unpronounceable name are also called Tshetshents, or Tshetsh,* and inhabit the northern slope of the Eastern Caucasus, down to the valley of the Terek, to the number of about 150,000, split up into about twenty groups. Haxthausen puts the number of groups at twenty-two, of whom, since their migration into Turkish Armenia, only the fragments remain, with little of the spirit of their ancestors, who fought so stubbornly against the Russian invasion of their homes. But just as the Absne are inferior to the Tekerhess, the Tshetshents—to use one of the most approachable of the names—surpass them in generosity and dignity, the love of fine clothes and beautiful arms, clinging to these mountaineers, even though the hovels in which they live are little better than underground dens, rough, unhewn stone huts, or booths of interwoven branches. Their language is in no way connected with any other in the Caucasus, unless we except that spoken by the Lesghians. They profess Mohammedanism, but have no literary language, and scarcely any trace of their vanished history, except here and there among the Ingoushes and other neighbours, ruins of ancient churches, and a great number of sacred vessels, which testify to the former existence of Christianity in this part of the world. The Tshetshents have been nominally subjects of Russia since the reign of Peter the Great, but have always proved a turbulent and uncertain people, frequently rebelling, and on the promulgation of Schamyl's doctrines of "Muridism," or "the way of truth," they became the most fanatical of all the opponents with whom the Czar had to deal. In appearance they are tall and slenderly built, of pale complexion, and have a "sinister, piercing glance, aquiline nose, and marked features." Active and strong, like all their fellow-countrymen, they combine with this ease and grace. But otherwise there is not a great deal to be said in their favour. Tshetshent morals are no higher than Tscherkess. Robbery is with them, provided it is pluckily carried out, and successfully managed, a cardinal merit in a tribesman—only neighbours and relations being beyond the pale of their thievish license. Hospitable, like all the Caucasians, they are nevertheless somewhat haughty, if courteous and even amiable to strangers. In other respects they are cruel, covetous, violent in temper, and vindictive to a degree, which renders the vendetta, or hereditary vengeance of blood, a lamentable feature of their mountains. Domestic crimes are horribly punished when a woman is the offender; a man is, except in certain offences, let off with a much lighter penalty, even when he is made to feel the majesty of the law at all. A breach of hospitality is the greatest iniquity of which a Tshetshent can be guilty in the eyes of his tribe. So gravely is this ancient virtue regarded that, warmly attached though they were to Schamyl,

* Also Mizchegs, Mizhjeji, Mitsdjéghes, Mitchekestes, or to use their own name, Nachtschuoi. The Tshetshents is the name of one of these tribes which fought very valiantly under Schamyl, and which name was applied to the whole race. The Georgians call them Kisti, which designation, though happily pronounceable, applies only to a part of the people.

they refused to deliver up to him the refugee Lesghi, who had fled to them in terror for his life, which he would certainly have lost had he been "extradited" in the rude fashion of many barbarians. A wife is bought, and does all the hard work of the household. The men are the absolute heads of their families, and seldom consider it consonant with their dignity



KABARDONIAN WOMAN.

to labour, so long as there is a woman to toil in the field or at home. A woman is, however, regarded with more respect than among Moslems generally. Her husband treats her affectionately, and before marriage any conversation between a young couple is carried on with a deference bordering on shyness. A girl is never insulted in a Tshetshent village, for to touch her hand even would bring upon the rash individual the contempt of his tribesmen. Immediately after a child is born, the husband absents himself from home,

leaving his wife to the care of his or her parents, and for a long time after this event he abstains from speaking to his wife, especially should the baby be a girl. It is affirmed that the Tshetshents have no insulting word or term in their language, the term "djali-korne"



GEORGIANS.

("son of a dog"), so rarely used by them, being of Russian invention. In speaking of the Russians, they make use of the word "giaour" ("infidel"), though by a slight twist of the tongue it can be converted into "gaoor" ("dog"). The principal occupation of the people—now that brigandage is difficult—is the cultivation of maize, wheat, and millet, and the keeping of bees and silkworms. They also manufacture an inferior kind of cloth and linen out of their own sheep's wool and the flax grown by themselves, dress

sheepskins, make felt "bourkas" (cloaks), and similar articles required for the simple life they lead.*

GEORGIANS.

In many respects the Georgians are the most interesting as they are the most polished people of the Caucasus. They hold the region about the river Kur, a fruitful land, though some of their country is also a rugged barren mountain range, such a region as that inhabited by the Mingrelians—the Imeritians and the Suani—all Georgians, or as they are sometimes called, Kartalinian tribes. The term Georgian is of comparatively modern origin, the name Kartalinian being derived from the Kartli, a language spoken by this people.† Some writers, Mr. Bunbury, for example, whose opinion deserves the utmost respect, considers that the Georgians are descended from the Iberians, a people who were in possession of the Caucasus at the earliest period of which we have any historical account, though this race must not be confounded with the Iberians of Spain, who inhabited that country at the dawn of history, and not improbably are represented at the present day by the isolated Basques. The connection of the Georgians with the Iberians is confirmed by the cast of features and head-dress of the former being identical with those of the statuettes found in the ancient graves scattered over the country, and believed to date from a period when the Iberians were the prevalent race in Georgia. Altogether, there are about thirty tribes—some very distinct—making up the nations now under description, the principal of which are the Imeritians, the Mingrelians, the Gurians, and Suani, the Grusians—a name which is believed to be a corruption of Georgia—being the Georgians proper, though perhaps not the most numerous race in this country, most of them now living in the government of Tiflis.

"They are a simple and hospitable people, pardonably fond," an Odessa correspondent tells us, "of their gala day, with its morning of horsemanship and its evening of wine-drinking, and dancing, and courting under their village walnut trees. Their lungs are always full of the fresh streams of song; their hours are all happy; their cares they carry lightly. The sayings, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,' and 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' are their special property, their national character epitomised. Their fertile soil begets apathy and laziness. A sharpened stick tipped with a piece of iron answers to scratch the ground with. The Georgian farmer sallies out in the morning with this instrument, and attaches it by a primitive arrangement to about sixteen oxen—I once counted twenty-four. The furrow made is about three inches deep, and after every half-hour's work there is an hour and a half's cessation from work, for the purposes of refreshment and sleep. Nowhere have the Georgians any chance against the Armenians in the race and struggle of life. Wherever the two races compete the Georgian goes to the wall. The stamina and stronger fibre of the Armenian are more than a match for his spendthrift Georgian neighbour (p. 17)."

"Although, in the towns of Transcaucasia, the Armenians are everywhere successful and ready to receive the best which Europe can give of its civilisation and luxury, yet there are

* Wahl: "Land of the Czar," pp. 132—4.

† The Armenians call them Virk, and the Persians Kourdji or Gourdji, after the River Kur.

whole districts of the country where they still retain their ancient patriarchal customs. Innovation of any kind is denounced as heinous and sinful. The stigma of 'Farmasion' ('Freemason,' doubtless) is fastened upon any one who attempts to introduce a new book, a new dress, or a new idea. The principles of the 'Farmasions' are, according to these poor villagers, the most dreaded emanation from the Evil One, and I am ashamed to add that this and many other ignorant ideas far more hurtful are carefully fostered by their clergy of all ranks—men sunk in the lowest depths of ignorance and superstition."

For several centuries prior to the Mongol invasion all the tribes of the Karabagh, Shirvan, and Daghestan were tributaries to the Georgian monarchs, who were originally raised to that power by Pharnavaz, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. About A.D. 325 the Georgians became Christians, and since 596 have been members of the orthodox Greek Church. In the seventh century they suffered terribly from the wars of Heraclius, the struggles against the Mohammedans, and the strife between the contending dynasties, which had alternately the direction of the kingdom's affairs. At a later period an Arab invasion had to be resisted, and the country grew in importance, until the glory of the Georgian monarchy culminated in the famous reign of David II., which lasted from 1089 to 1125. But in 1220, eight years after the death of Queen Thamar, who spread Christianity throughout the Caucasus, decreed good laws, stimulated literary life, and encouraged artists and learned men of all sorts to visit her capital of Tiflis, the Mongol hordes appeared, and in the fourteenth century Timour, the most ruthless of all the Asiatic conquerors, entered Georgia, and, after repeated ravages, destroyed Tiflis. But during the reign of Alexander the havoc they wrought was effaced by the town being rebuilt, the churches restored, and the unity of the country re-established. When the Byzantine empire collapsed the Gruzinians implored help from Russia, and in 1783 Catherine II. took them under her protection. In 1801 they were formally annexed to Russia; two years later the Mingrelians were taken over; in 1804 the same fate befel the Imeritians; in 1810 the Gurians gave up the idea of remaining masters of their own fortunes, and within the last few years the Suani also entered the fold which held so many of their kindred. There is therefore at present no independent Georgia—the very name being lost in the Russian Government of Tiflis and the various districts into which this modern representation of the ancient kingdom of Georgia, which existed for 2,000 years, has been divided.

The *Grusians*, according to Mr. Bunbury, inhabit the whole country east of the Suram Mountains, down to the lowland steppes of the River Kur, and the valley of the Aragwa to the very foot of the main range, the valleys of Kakhetia, and the slopes still farther east. Their land is, for the most part, the finest of the Caucasus, the climate most delicious, and the soil miraculously fertile, in spite of the ancient system of irrigation having been permitted to fall into decay. Gardens, orchards, and vineyards are seen everywhere, and though the culture is of the most primitive character, excellent wine is produced from the Kakhetia grapes. The people, though morally degraded, owing to the ease with which life can be supported, are among the most beautiful in the world. Bodenstedt declares that everywhere in Grusia "one sees men of tall and vigorous frames, and women of slender, elegant figures, regular, distinguished features, and large, finely-cut eyes; but in vain one looks in either sex for that noble beauty which is found only amongst nations of advanced civilisation,

where the eyes are the unerring reflectors of the exalted sensations of the mind and heart. The beauty of the female form is generally more developed than that of the face, the charm of which passes off very soon. The physical difference between the Georgian and the European lady is also conspicuous in their style of dressing. The effect of the charm of the European lady is enhanced by closer acquaintance. The most insignificant physical appearance frequently proves captivating by the mutely eloquent glance, the fine expression of the mouth, and by the interesting play of the features. A simple attire pleases all the more as one enters into a detailed inspection of its delicate elegance and exquisite purity. The impression one experiences in the presence of a Georgian lady is precisely the reverse.



IMERITIANS.

The exterior is brilliant, but loses under close examination. When out walking they wear the 'tchadra,' a sort of veil, which envelops the whole person, and which they know how to dispose around them so as to display the fine proportions of the handsome, and to hide the defects of the ugly. The dress consists of a short, light-coloured sarafan, or of a long robe, cut out on the bosom so as to show a bodice of light colour underneath, which is generally most richly and artistically embroidered. The red pantaloons are hemmed with gold, and most charmingly set off a little foot in its tiny, high-heeled slipper of Persian morocco. The women also wear a light-coloured handkerchief, slung in the form of a cross round their heads, covering part of the forehead, and it serves to retain a gauze veil, falling back and partly hiding the thick plaits of their long and dark hair. There is not a more melancholy spectacle in the world than an old Georgian woman, who is more like a hag than anything else. While the young beauty modestly hides beneath the tchadra, old age uncovers a bosom that ought to be consigned to everlasting seclusion." The Gruzinians Mr. Wahl characterises as an aristocratic and feudal people, born warriors, brave soldiers, and excellent riders, but not particularly available for European tactics. Amiable and hospitable,

they are, for the most part, ignorant and uncommunicative, and too proud and warlike to love trade or industry. Their intelligence is not high, and what brains they possess are too often befuddled by excessive wine-drinking. Few of the humbler classes know how to read or write, and many of the nobility are in the same state of ignorance. Music and dancing in the open air are the chief amusements, and idling, beyond the slight amount of work demanded by the wants of life, their usual mode of lounging through the day.

The *Imeritians* number about 150,000 souls. In modern times they have sadly degenerated from the character which they bore in days before the despotism of the Turk brought about



MINGRELIAN WOMAN.

the demoralisation of their nobility, and the decay of their church. Under Russian rule slavery has been abolished, and security to person and property established. No longer can the nobles gallop about the country with a band of swaggering retainers, take possession of a house, and eat up in a week the stores which were intended to last the family for a year, for the Imeritian, though very hospitable with his own—and other people's—goods, is, as might be imagined, of a very low moral standard. He is, like most of his race, intemperate, prone to telling lies, and addicted to other vices of a less venial description, and though some of the nobles can decipher Russian, the majority of the people are unable to read their own language. The Imeritian country extends from the water-shed of the Suram mountains westward; the Zenesquali separating them on the west from the Mingrelians. In 1650-1, the King of Imeritia, having been sorely pressed by his enemies, among others, by the Dadian, or sovereign of Mingrelia, requested to be taken under the protection of Russia, and having duly rendered homage, was admitted a vassal of the Czar of Muscovy, Alexis Michaelovitch signing the act of submission with his signet, his Majesty being unable to write. At a later date (p. 19), owing to the folly of the then King, Vaktang VI., vacillating between his alliance with the Shah of Persia and the

Czar, the entire country fell into the hands of the Russians, and as such it has ever since remained (p. 20).

The *Mingrelians* do not number over 50,000 souls, and though less robust-looking than some of the neighbouring tribes, are, in reality, vigorous and brave, and though their taciturnity and rude unsociality might give an unfavourable impression of them, they are in truth as affable, hospitable, and punctilious on points of honour as the rest of their race. They are also more industrious than the majority of them, but no more addicted to learning than their neighbours ; though their unwritten tongue is said to be the softest and most melodious of all the Georgian languages. The Mingrelian country extends from the Zenesquali on the east, to the Ingur and the Black Sea on the west ; the lower course of the Rion generally being regarded as their limit on the south. The Mingrelians, who do not now number over 50,000 people, became subject to Russia in 1804, and up to the year 1867 maintained a certain kind of independence under their own princes, who held a rude court at Inzgaur, on the Black Sea, the ancient Dioscurias, a colony of Miletus, Mingrelia being the Colchis of the Greeks and Romans. But this independence has now ceased, the country being divided into the three circles of the government of Kutais, and the princes, though nominally bearing their old titles, are at present members of the Russian nobility, who have intermixed with the most aristocratic families in their adopted country and in France, and hold high offices in the Russian army and about the Russian court (p. 21).

The *Gurians* reckon about 25,000 souls as belonging to their race, and occupy the fertile land of Trans-Caucasia, between the Rion and the Turkish frontier, their capital being Ozourgeth. Physically they are, perhaps, the finest race in the Caucasus, their women especially being very beautiful, and of imposing presence and distinguished features. So rich is their soil that, though never manured, it yields two crops a year. Wheat sown in autumn is ready for the sickle in the April following. Maize and millet are then planted, and harvested four months later, and nearly every crop suitable for a mild climate flourishes in the Gurian country. Like all the Georgians, the Gurian is fond of music, very conservative as regards his religion and customs, proud of his valour and his finely-decorated arms, always sober, which some of his kindred are not ; and though not deficient in good sense, is apt to express his devotion in high-sounding phrases, which must be taken with as many deductions as such rhetorical compliments usually are received by those to whom they are addressed. In many respects the Gurians are nearly akin to the Lazi, a tribe inhabiting the mountains hard by within Turkish territory, where they resided even in the time of Strabo.

The *Suani*—the Svanati of the Russians—inhabit the highest and most inaccessible valleys of the north-western Caucasus, where they live shut off from the rest of the world in a kind of patriarchal style, which has been well described by Mr. Freshfield.* Several families congregate in rude hamlets for mutual protection ; and so far as the Russian officials trouble them they are to all intents and purposes independent. Owning few horses, they are not addicted to going far from home, and as tillage is difficult, owing to the rugged character of the country, they live mainly by cattle-breeding and brigandage, though this evil trait in their character is fast disappearing. More than half-savage, the Suani is not to be depended on. His temper is extremely uncertain, and just as circum-

* "Journey in the Central Caucasus and Bashan" (1869).

stances may determine he is robber or host, cowardly or courageous. But he is always sober, enduring, and hardy. His wife must be bought; and if he is too poor to purchase her, public opinion permits of the impecunious lover carrying off the bride by force, since it would be an indelible disgrace to the lady, as well as to her parents, to permit her to go to her new home without her value being rendered simply on the plea of the spouse being unable to raise the required coin. At one time—indeed, not very long ago—the Suani used to sell their daughters into slavery or into the harems of the Turks, from which it may be inferred that their religion sits lightly on them. They are full of superstitious notions, and firm believers in prophesies, and the power possessed by wise men and women of forecasting the future. In other respects they do not differ very widely from the rest of the Georgian connection. All, or nearly all, are fair-haired and blue-eyed, and owing to an antipathy to cut their tawny locks, their hair hangs down their backs in long wavy tresses. Still, Mr. Cameron will insist, that their hard, angular features, so different from the soft rounded faces of the typical Georgian, point to real differences which are not sufficiently indicated by the dialectic peculiarities in their language. This is, of course, quite possible. However, their long isolation in an upland region, where they were residents in the days of Strabo and Plato, though far more powerful and numerous than at the present day, is quite sufficient to account for their divergence from the accepted standard. Remains of fine churches are scattered through their territory.

The *Pshavs* (or *Ph'tchavy*), *Toushes* (or *Mosoks*), and *Khevsours* need not occupy us long. Their home is the north-eastern part of the government of Tiflis, where they act as a kind of involuntary barrier to Georgia proper against the incursions of the Lesghians, who, at the time of their settlement here, hovered "like famished wolves," ready to pounce, from the neighbouring forest, on the rich lands beyond the mountains. They are rude in manner, terrible in vengeance, and scarcely elevated above paganism, though affecting to profess the Greek faith. At one time they had numerous churches. But Shah Abbas of Persia ravaged the country, forced whole villages to embrace Mohammedanism, and great numbers of people to take refuge in the mountains.

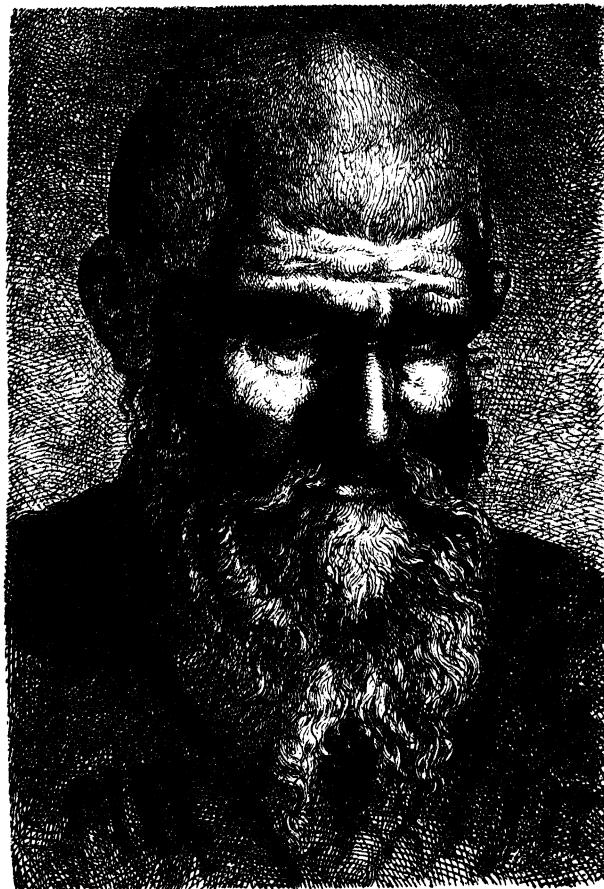
The Khevsours are in part brigands, and in part cattle breeders, but also cultivate some grain, which is ground in mills driven by the numerous brooks which traverse their country.

The Toushes are a noble-looking people, noted for their loyal and chivalrous sentiments, and, like the other tribes in their vicinity, live pretty much as they please, their allegiance to Russia being for the most part merely nominal.

The Pshavs are savage and rude, of unquestionable courage, but have never—of late years, at least—given much trouble to the authorities.

The Georgians are thus one of the most numerous and most interesting of the Dioscurian races, and while comprising some of the most polished of the family, the division also embraces not a few of the least civilised tribes of the Caucasus. Several of them are quite illiterate, have no alphabet, and their dialect has not been committed to writing, except in the brief vocabularies collected for philological or ethnological purposes. In other cases, as in the tongue of the Georgians proper, there is an alphabet based on that of the Armenian, though found in two forms, one of which is exclusively reserved for printing the

Bible and other sacred volumes, and the second employed in secular writings. The sacred books have been translated into Georgian for some 1,300 years, though the extant version is only about 1,000 years old ; and there are in existence some curious romances and amorous



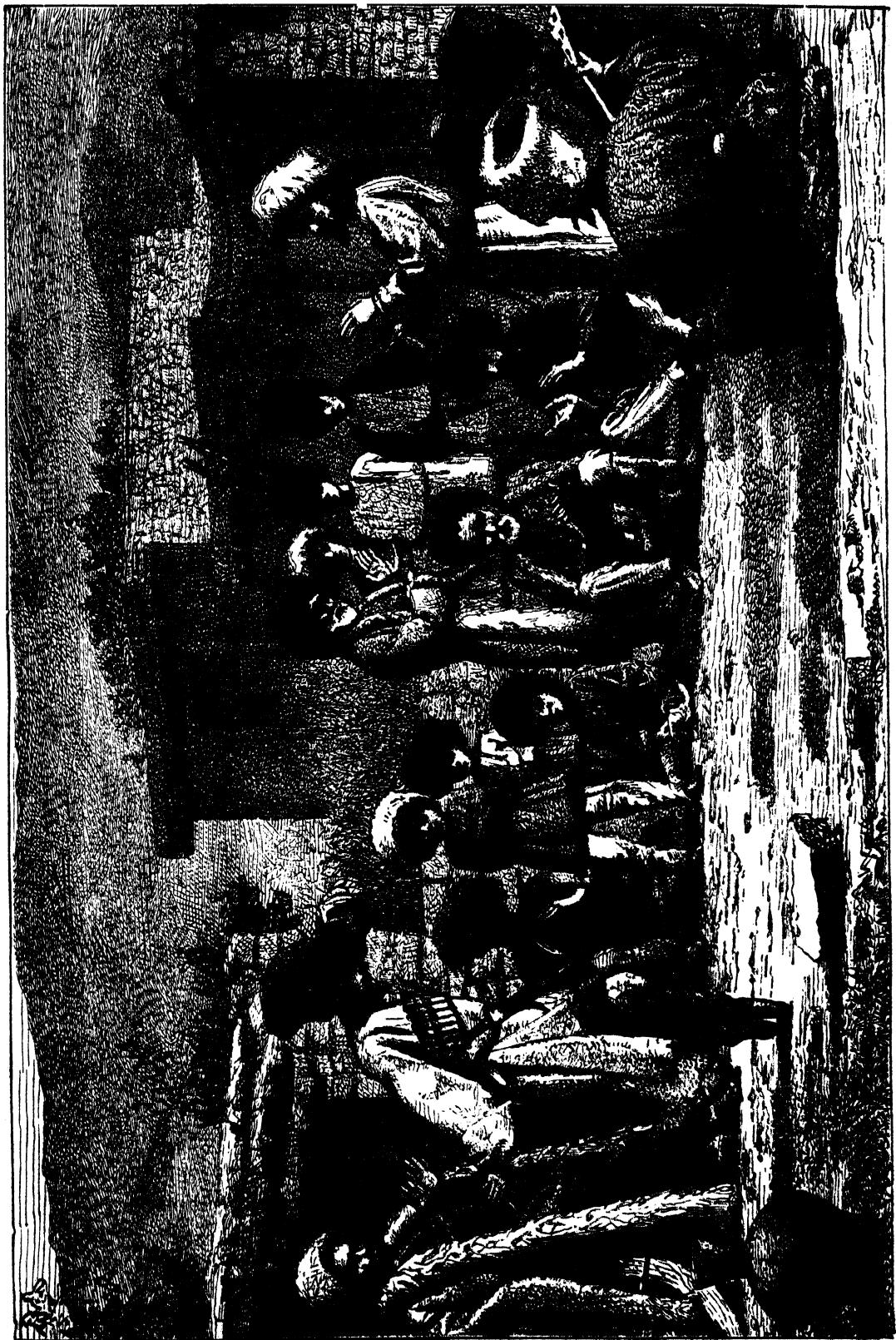
poems, including copies printed on hemp paper, soon after the introduction of typography, which date from a very early period.*

THE LESHIANS.

Under this general name† are comprised a number of petty tribes who inhabit the Eastern Caucasus, though, in reality, there are such radical differences in their dialects, that were we not compelled to try and extract something like order out of the chaos of races in this region, they might be fittingly described as fragments of different peoples. Indeed, this

* Zagarelli : " Examen de la littérature relative à la grammaire Géorgienne " (1878) ; Von Thielmanns : " Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia " (1875) ; Grove : " The Frosty Caucasus " (1875) ; Petzholdt : " Der Kaukasus " (1866) ; Wahl : " Land of the Czar " (1876), &c.

† Derived from the Persian *Leksi*. They are called Leki by the Georgians, Armenians, and Ossetines.



THE "LESGHINKA DANCE" OF THE MOUNTAINEERS OF DAGHESTAN.

idea has been hazarded, though, unless we except the Udi, Kubetchi, and some other small tribes, whose affinities are even more doubtful than those of any of their neighbours, it is very probable that future research will show that all of them have a common origin, though isolation has in time wrought a wide contrariety in their spoken language. However, when the Lesghians made so stout a resistance to the Russians—and Schamyl was a Lesghian, not a Circassian, as usually described—a fanatical attachment to Islamism was, perhaps, the only bond which united them against the common enemy. In general it may be said that they are all equally illiterate, the only race of Daghestan which has a written language being the Avares or Avari, close neighbours of the Tschents on the north, though even they have no native alphabet, their books being written in Arabic characters. The correspondent already quoted remarks that the Lesghian tribes “are not well spoken of by travellers; but then travellers are always tempted to take for granted the *dicta* of those who preceded them. When I travelled through Daghestan I had but one attendant, and saw nothing to warn me that I was among ‘robbers and cut-throats.’ It is long since the Russian Government put an effectual stop to the deeds which once made travelling in Daghestan so dangerous. It is, I think, not generally known that almost all the Lesghian tribes were Christians before the twelfth century. Now they are Mahomedans kindled into fanaticism by the preaching of Schamyl’s revived Islamism. A great drawback to the advancement of civilisation among the Lesghian mountaineers is the fact that almost every valley has its own special dialect not understood very well in the next valley. The Mollahs and those who can read are acquainted with Arabic, and a considerable number of the common people understand the dialect known as Azerbijan Tartar; but there is no one dialect or language common to the entire population of Daghestan. In this small province there are twenty-three distinct languages with innumerable variations”—none with an original alphabet. Indeed, except the Ossetines, who use the Cyrillic character, this degeneracy is common to all the mountain tribes. At present there may be about 600,000 Lesghians, though so many migrated to Turkey, and perished of hunger, disease, and privation, that their number has within the last twenty years greatly decreased. Their courage has been amply displayed in the fierce wars they waged under Schamyl for so many years, until, on the 25th of August, 1859, the leader of this hopeless revolt, forsaken even by his faithful tribesmen, was compelled to surrender. But, on the other hand, they are cruelly vindictive, and delight in brigandage, are addicted to drunkenness, and excessive smoking. The men are fond of gossip, idle, and treat their women as domestic drudges, who are of less value than their horses. They and the donkeys perform every agricultural operation, and all domestic labour, and are divorced whenever the husband tires of them, or can afford to buy a substitute, though, as a rule, owing to the poverty of the people, buying is very rare. Worn out with weary toil the Lesghian women of the poorer classes are seldom good-looking. All, except the wives of the Begs and other dignitaries, are bent with labour, small, and prematurely old. Yet they are affirmed to be good spouses, and infinitely more faithful to their share of the marital compact than the men. No race is more abstemious than the Lesghians. Yet, though badly fed, poorly clothed, and in the habit of going about barefooted, they are strong, hardy, and scarcely know what fatigue or sickness means. The houses are remarkably clean, but their dress would bear a little neatness without subjecting the wearer to the charge of dandyism.

For ages the Lesghians had been the scourge of the Georgians, who had, accordingly, no reason for sadness when the fall of Schamyl brought their ruthless enemies under the yoke of Russia, and among the earliest facts in the history of this race are the accounts of battles fought with these untamed tribesmen, or of the wars which the numerous septs* waged with each other. In time, however, the hitherto truculent Lesghians will change for the better or for the worse. There is amongst them some capital raw material on which civilisation might work, and as the road from Vladikaukas by Petrovsk to Baku will open up the country, we may soon see the fine smith-work and cutlery of Daghestan competing in our markets, in excellence if not in price, with that of Sheffield, and for long the excellent shawls woven by the Lesghian women, and the felt cloaks of Andi, have been held in esteem throughout the Caucasus (pp. 24, 25).

CHAPTER II.

THE MAGYARS: THEIR ORIGIN AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

If the reader can for the moment transport himself into the fair city of Pesth on the Danube, and sit for a Sunday afternoon under the trees in the Stadtwälchen, when half the citizens seem abroad, he will be better able to understand this chapter. The banks of the "blue Donau" are a perfect museum for the ethnographer, and on this spot are congregated representatives of almost every nationality which has its home on the shores of that great river. Here are Germans, though for the present they claim to call themselves Austrians, a word that has only a political not a racial significance, Roumanians, with their dark faces, Slovacks and Ruthens, Croats and Serbs, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Macedonian Wallachs, Albanians, Jews, Gipsies, and a sprinkling of other better-known people, who are either wayfarers or sojourners in the capital of Hungary (pp. 28, 29, 32). But these people, though many of them ancient residents in the country, are none of them its aborigines. Indeed, the term "aborigines" is so vague that it is difficult to say who among any race in Europe are really the original inhabitants of the country, and in Hungary the word has only a comparative meaning. But "Ungarn," to use its German designation, is politically and ethnologically the home of the Magyars, who, therefore, know it as "Magyarorszag," a people of comparatively recent Asiatic origin, and, on that account may, with the gipsies, be considered before we take up the rest of the races of Europe.

The Magyars are also more numerous than any of the other peoples who live in the country. Only 12·3 per cent. of the population is, for certain, German, and for the most part they are settled in the counties adjoining Austria, in the county of Szepes, in the

* Von Seidritz: "Ethnographie der Kaukasus;" Petermann's *Geographische Mittheilungen* (1880); Wahl: "Land of the Czar" (1875); Latham: "Nationalities of Europe" (1864), &c.

north, in the former "Banat," and in the Saxon counties of Transylvania. The Roumanians, numbering 16·9 per cent., are mainly settled in Transylvania, and the counties immediately abutting on it. There are 11·9 per cent. of Slovacks, 3 per cent. of Ruthenians, and about 15 per cent. of Croats and Servians, chiefly confined to Croatia, Slavonia, and what is called the Military Frontier (where they form 97 per cent. of the population), to the former Servian Banat, and the southern part of Hungary proper, and wherever resident constitute a thorn in the Magyar side.* But the Magyars amount to 6,176,612, or about 40 per cent. of the whole civil population, and from the noisy part they have played in



COSTUMES OF PESTH.

Europe might well be much more numerous. The result of this intermixture and inosculation of nationalities is that in every county almost there are one or two separate languages spoken, and rival political aspirations, nearly as widely opposed to each other as if those possessing them were foreigners, and ready at the first opportunity to fly at one another's throats. Indeed, judging from the fact, this is not far from the truth, for had it not been for the jealousies of the different races within her bounds, Hungary could never have yielded so easily to the House of Hapsburg. Nearly every town, or county, or commune, has two or three, or even four, names, according to the race which requires to refer to

* Schwicker: "Statistik des Königreiches Ungarn" (1877), and the admirable ethnological map in Patterson's "The Magyars: their Country and their Institutions," vol. ii., p. 43, to which excellent work I have been indebted for a variety of interesting information.



INTERIOR OF ROUMANIAN PEASANT'S HOUSE IN TRANSYLVANIA.

it; just as in Belgium, there are always two names—the Walloon and the French—for every place; and in the Italian-speaking portion of Austria and elsewhere the same necessity obtains. At a dinner-table in a provincial town it is quite common for German to be the only language of one or two of the company, for Hungarian to be spoken by several others, for Servian to be the mother tongue of a smaller number, and, finally, for the rest to be Wallachs from the Military Frontier, unable to converse except in their mother tongue, and, therefore, less apt to grow heated as the conversation drifts into the inevitable politics, which split up the country into endless factions, and make the government at once easy and difficult, though St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, left as advice to his successor the principle that a kingdom of one language and of uniform customs is weak and readily broken. In one of the Magyar plays, which pretends to portray the manners of the people, the witch, when asked to describe Hungary, replies, "It is a country which is inhabited by all sorts of people, even by the Hungarians; where all sorts of languages are spoken, even the Hungarian." Until very recently, so difficult was it to hit upon a common medium of communication between the Babel-like nationalities of Hungary, that all official intercourse was carried on in Latin. It was the tongue in which debates were conducted in the Diet, the language in which laws were drafted, and public documents written; and though in the provincial assemblies, more especially when the members were composed of Slavs, or of Magyars alone, the supremacy of Latin was not so absolute, yet no man with any pretence to education was ignorant of it; though, of course, so common was the accomplishment that it did not necessarily follow that to know this language was to be otherwise educated. In Transylvania the Diet always deliberated in Magyar; but Transylvania was small, poor, distant, and at the best only a satellite of the kingdom. In those days the word "nationality," which is at present working such mischief in Hungary, was scarcely heard. No living tongue was jealous of any other, for all were under the subjection of the foreign yoke of Latin. Since Hungary has achieved a measure of independence this condition of affairs has greatly changed, though to this day Magyarland is the only region of the world where men can be found speaking Latin as a living and not as a dead language. Even a woman will occasionally quote a pet Latin proverb, and it is not uncommon to hear a tradesman's wife in Pesth address her neighbour with the ungrammatical salute of "Servus." In some of the north-western counties, within the memory of men still living, it was not unfrequent for the country gentry to use all four languages at once, as in the following sentence, quoted by Mr. Patterson, in which Hungarian, Latin, Slovack, and German, are jumbled up in curious confusion:—"Alaszszolgaja domine spectabilis; ako ye prissli na forspontu, oder mit eigener Gelegan heit?" ("Your most humble servant, honoured sir: did you come with post-horses or in your own carriage?").

But in spite of the efforts of Maria Theresa to obliterate the various dialects and languages of Hungary, the Magyars never forget their mother tongue; and to-day this language, which precludes all communication between them and every other people, is more extensively spoken than ever, and the literature printed in it, though voluminous, is as remarkable in merit as it is extensive in amount; and, perhaps, nothing has so aided the movement as the covert and open attempts of the Austrian Emperors to make German the one language of their dominions. Rural squires still, however, interlard their conversa-

tion with the queerest kind of Latin, and lament the decay of everything worth living for, while the young folk growing up fail to acquire a familiarity with the old medium of polite deliberations. The result has, nevertheless, not been very happy for Hungary. The letting loose of the different dialects also let loose the political and national jealousies, which the use of Latin, as it were, kept under control. The attempt to make German the one tongue roused the Magyars to resistance, and the encroachment of Hungarian set aflame similar susceptibilities in the minds of the Slovacks and Croats, until, from the reports of the debates in the different legislative assemblies, and the riots which now break out, an unprejudiced observer might reasonably enough suppose that Hungary, instead of being united and pacified, was crumbling into rival factions, and ready to burst into the horrors of civil war. In truth, though the Magyars are the predominant race, the only section of Magyarland which they can specially call their own is the centre of Hungary, on both sides of the Danube, and on both sides of the Theiss ; and, in reality, if there is anything in history, the smaller nationalities over which they now lord it were earlier settlers in the country than they.

ORIGIN.

This has always been a subject of hot debate among the Magyars, and there is, perhaps, no theme which arouses more latent susceptibilities than the question of the region whence the Magyars came, since it is perfectly certain that their settlement in Hungary has been of comparatively recent date. Rated by the standard applied to the other peoples of Europe, the Turks excepted, the Magyars are late intruders. Briefly stated, the view now most generally adopted, from a study of the Magyar tongue, and the glimpses of actual history which we obtain is, that in the last decade of the ninth century of the Christian era a horde of Ugrians (Vol. IV., p. 272), of mixed Turkish and Finnish origin, crossed the Carpathians from Bessarabia and Eastern Galicia, and entered Hungary, of which country they effected the conquest in the course of a few years. These hordes seem to have had their original home on the borders of the Caspian Sea, and to have in part migrated into the region of the Oural Mountains, whence they were extruded by the pressure of other warlike tribes southward into the region from whence, to the number of about 40,000 families, comprising 200,000 warriors, they reached Pannonia, under the leadership of Almos. This great march was not accomplished without many a hard-fought battle, for the land to which they had now come embraced several independent kingdoms, such as Great Moravia, Zalan, a Slavo-Bulgarian realm, and so forth, inhabited by a variety of Wallachian, Bulgarian, and Slav tribes, some of whom acknowledged the feudal suzerainty of the Carlovingian kings of Germany.

Even they were not by any means the earliest settlers in this future battle-ground ; for, leaving out of account the shadowy savages, of whom we may have something to say farther on when describing the earliest settlement of Europe prior to the Aryan immigration, and the broken tribes of Slavic origin who succeeded them, the south-western portion of Hungary had been a possession of the Roman Empire under the name of Pannonia, while the south-eastern, as formed by the Theiss, was the well-known Dacia, the country

lying between the last-named river and the Danube being inhabited by the Jazyges. As early as A.D. 274 Dacia was abandoned by the Goths, and about a century later the Goths crossed the Don, and, after ravaging the intervening country, established themselves in Pannonia, where, under Attila, their power was so extended and consolidated, that by the



HUNGARIAN COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

year 432 the Roman prefects were altogether powerless, and retired with their legions before the race that in time was to aid in the overthrow of the empire. After the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths and Gepidae obtained possession of the greater part of the country, and they in their turn yielded to the Longobards, who by the year 526 were masters of the whole of Hungary, or Pannonia. Finally, after the Longobards moved southward to the more attractive plunder of the Italian cities, the Avars entered, and for more than

two centuries ruled the land, until Charlemagne reduced them to subjection. Such was the state of the country when, in the year 889, the seven tribes of Magyars met and elected Arpad chief in succession to his father, Almos, and prepared for the conquest of the country in which their descendants have ever since remained, though naturally intermingling with their predecessors, and in not a few instances contending with them for the supremacy, which after a thousand years of mastery they have never yet entirely abandoned the idea of obtaining in whole or in part. However, the subsequent political history of Hungary, from



SLOVACKS IN PESTH.

Arpad, the first duke in 889, to Stephen, the first king in 1000 until the extinction of the "native" dynasty in 1290, and the accession of the Hapsburgs, who, after many changes and alterations of the form of government, still continue to be joint Kings of Hungary and Emperors of Austria, belongs to a department of research with which ethnology has only a remote connection. The conquest of Hungary by these Uralo-Finnish tribes called Magyars, is commonly known as the "hongoglalas," the occupation of the Fatherland, and holds in the history of Hungarian families much the same place that the Norman Conquest does in English family histories.

At that period the old Chronicles give the Magyars a terrible character. "Out of the aforesaid parts of Scythia did the nation of the Hungarians—very savage, and more cruel than any wild beast—a nation that some years ago was not even known by name—when pressed upon by the neighbouring people, of the name of Petshinegs, come down upon us;

for the Petshinegs were strong, both in number and valour, and their own soil was not sufficient to sustain them. From the violence of these the Hungarians fled to seek some other lands that they might occupy, and to fix their settlements elsewhere. So they bade *farewell!* to their old country. At first they wandered over the solitudes of the Pannonians and the Avars, seeking their daily sustenance from the chase, and by fishing. Then they broke in upon the boundaries of the Carinthians, Moravians, and Bulgarians, with frequent attacks. Very few did they kill with the sword—many thousands with their arrows, which they shot with such skill, from bows made of horn, that it was scarcely possible to guard against them. This manner of warfare was dangerous, in proportion as it was unusual. . . . They never knew the ways of either a town or a dwelling, and they never fed upon the fruits of human labour until they came to that part of Russia which is called Susudal. Till then, their food was flesh and fish. Their youths were hunting every day: hence, from that day to this, the Hungarians are better skilled than other nations in the chase."

But there may be little hesitation in concluding that long before the Magyar invasion proper there had been an occasional inroad or quiet migration of Ugrian tribes into the land to which their kindred was afterwards attracted, and that even before the arrival of Almos' hordes the Bulgarians, who might have been from much the same region as the Magyars, had contested the possession of Pannonia with the Avars, the people against whom Charlemagne led his armies. The ethnography of Hungary is, however, extremely complex, and it will be a vain task to endeavour to reconcile the very opposite conclusions at which different writers have come.* But all must be as one in seeing that the modern Magyars are not an unmixed race; that they must have amalgamated with many tribes or fragments of tribes among whom they settled, and that the Turkish words of the dead Kumanian dialect were, as Hunfalvy thinks, introduced into the language prior to the immigration of the tribesmen into Hungary, so that as likely as not at that date they were becoming mixed with foreign elements. These Kumaniacs were Turks who—as had been the custom prior to the great invasion of the Ottomans, who are now at home in Turkey—had been quietly moving across the Hellespont, and settled in Europe as they found opportunities, the last great armed immigration being only the final arrival of which there had been plenty of small predecessors. The word *Hungary* is, however, apt to cause mistakes. The Magyars were not *Huns*; they were only Asiatics, who settled in the country of the Huns. The Huns of Attila were an entirely different race, who were most probably sprung from the Heungnou or Hiungnu, a people who about the end of the third century B.C., according to the Chinese annals, constituted a powerful empire, extending from the Great Wall of China to the Caspian, but who gradually broke into fragments under the influence of anarchy and the repeated attacks of their enemies, and settled in part near the Ural River.†

Be this as it may—and now and then among the country folk who come into market

* Hunfalvy: "Ethnographie von Ungarn" (1876); Vambery: "Ursprung der Ungarn" (1882), &c.

† Guignes: "Histoire Générale des Huns," &c. (1756). Roeber ("Romänische Studien," p. 231) comes, however, to an entirely different conclusion from the one so generally held. According to him they are of Finnish origin. By the mediæval writers the term "Hun" is used, as Scythian was by the ancients, in a sense so vague that little meaning can be attached to it.

in the Hungarian towns may be seen a peasant who looks wild enough to be the lineal descendant of one of those fierce warriors whom the feeble Romans learned to designate the "Scourge of God"—the Magyars claim to be the descendants of Almos' warriors, and to be about as pure-blooded as any race in Europe, and more especially in Southern and South-Eastern Europe can possibly be. By some commentators the word Magyar—Moger, Magir, or Meger—is supposed to mean "Confederate." It was not used by the earliest historians; the terms "Turk" and "Hungar" being the most commonly in use, and to this day many Hungarians regard it as an insult to be called Magyars in any other language than their own. They consider that the use of the word "Magyaren" in a German's mouth conveys the imputation that the people so designated are not only barbarous, but also that they are merely one out of many nationalities who inhabit Hungary on an equal footing. They look upon "Magyar" as a Hungarian word, the German equivalent of which is "Ungar."*

Mr. Patterson tells us that the Magyarisation, and the opposite of some of the many Hungarian races, is still going on, showing how little dependence can really be placed on language as the test of a people's origin. In the majority of their settlements in the true Magyar country the Germans have lost the German character, and become here Magyars, there Slovacks, and, in a third place, Wallachs. Here and there also are cases in which whole parishes, villages, or communes of Magyars have changed their nationality. When a small colony is planted in the midst of a population aboriginal in itself, that colony, as the writer quoted very properly remarks, will almost certainly melt away insensibly into the surrounding mass, the process being slow or rapid in proportion as the two races concerned are equal or widely apart as regards their civilisation. It will also be accelerated if the means of communication between different parts of the country are good, if the population is dense, and if no great differences of religion or politics exist between the two populations. "The foreign colonists—German, Serb, Bulgarian—as in Hungary, have generally been planted in the midst of a population not homogeneous in itself. The means of intercommunication have been up to a very recent period most imperfect, the population extremely sparse, and the standard of civilisation and education low. Can it be wondered at that the process of assimilation of heterogeneous elements has been slow?" Mr. Patterson, however, quite properly points out that where some special advantages are attached to the maintenance of a separate nationality, the process of absorption by the greater one will be very laggard. Again, it may happen that these advantages act so as to deprive the intruders of their own nationality, and yet at the same time prevent their absorption by the surrounding people. For example, the Flemings, planted by the English kings in Glamorganshire and Pembrokeshire, have in the course of a few centuries neither retained their own language nor learned that of the people among whom they were placed. They have become English. Accordingly, in Hungary we find Germans who have become Magyars, Slovacks, and Wallachs, Magyars who have become Slovacks or Ruzniaks, or Wallachs and Slovacks who have changed into Magyars, so far as nationality is concerned. Wallachs rarely, if ever, become anything else than what they are, and the only instances Mr. Patterson ever heard of a non-German village becoming German were those of one or two Magyar villages in the midst of a German district of Transylvania. These instances are in proof of the

* Patterson: "The Magyars," vol. i., pp. 10, 11; vol. ii., pp. 48—71.

generalisations already formulated. The Wallachs being, territorially, the most compact lose least by this change; the Germans, who are everywhere sporadic, lose most. "The Magyar element is compact in the plains, and thus it absorbs the scattered colonies of Slovacks and Germans. It is sporadic in the hill country, and there it is in turn absorbed by the Slovacks and Wallachs. Superior civilisation, thrift, or industry, does not absolutely decide the question between two populations as to which shall absorb the other, for then no German—nor aristocratic pride, for then no Magyar—would have become a Wallach."



HUNGARIAN COSTUMES.

It is difficult for me to depict the extremity of contempt with which the Wallach in Transylvania is regarded by both Magyars and Germans as a thoughtless loon, a bigot, a coward, and a slave. Nevertheless, a great number of German villages there are completely 'Wallachised,' and the number of Wallachised Magyars has been estimated at half a million."

Hosts of people in Hungary call themselves Magyars without being able to speak a word of the language; but the Hungarian is the aristocrat, and in a large population of Magyars no German likes to belong to a nationality which is despised, and hence some of the keenest "patriots" are those whose Teutonic origin is of very recent date. These are, however, intricate questions, the full discussion of which would occupy more space than is at our disposal; they may be more exhaustively studied by those specially interested in the theme in the works already quoted, or in those to which we may yet have occasion to



WALLACHIAN POPA (PRIEST OF THE GREEK CHURCH) AND PEASANT WOMEN.

refer. In Hungary, nevertheless, a man does not so readily change his religion as his nationality, though the variety of creeds in Magyarland is almost as bewildering as the variety of tongues and races. The Magyars are for the most part Protestants of some stripe, generally Calvinists, though many adhere to the Lutheran church, or "Evangelists of the Augsburg Confession," as they are sometimes designated. Many, again, are Roman Catholics; others follow the Greek rite, most of the Wallachs of Transylvania being members of this church (p. 37). So are the Ruzniaks of the eastern slopes of the Northern Carpathians, and the Slavonians and Croat-Serbiens of the provinces skirting the banks of the Save. The variety of faiths causes, nevertheless, little or no dissension. Everybody follows his own inclination, and gives perfect tolerance to that of his neighbour, the idea being that a man is less responsible for his religion than for his nationality. Indeed, in some villages, the inhabitants of which are too poor to build two places of worship, the Protestants, by hanging a curtain in front of the altar, hold their services with great complaisance in the Catholic church. "The Church of God" embraces every Christian sect; even the members of that communion which acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope of Rome never have attached the qualifying advantage "Roman" to its title, and from time immemorial have been somewhat unruly subjects of the Vatican.*

COSTUME AND APPEARANCE.

On Sunday the Hungarians display their picturesque costumes to perfection, though in the remoter parts of the country the stranger is struck by the dress of the peasants being more marked than it is in the towns, where, since the peaceful settlement of the country under the rule of the Austrian Emperor, the national dress is no more regarded as the outward and visible symbol of patriotism than a rubicund nose induced by swilling huge quantities of the strong wine of Szerednye. Yet no sooner does the tourist enter Magyarland than he is aware of the border having been crossed by the sight of the "bunda" or large cloak, the frogged "attila," the long boots, the long moustaches, and the still longer spurs of the people, as well as by the manly, energetic air of the wearers of the dress; their intensely black eyes, finely-arched nose, white teeth, wild bushy hair, athletic, tall, well-squared frames, yet thin and robust, differing so essentially from "the soft, caressing, almost feminine physiognomy of the Slav." The Croatian woman considers herself attired if she has one garment on her person; a Hungarian peasant never wears less than three petticoats, unless she is to be regarded as half-naked. Summer and winter the men wear Astrakhan caps, or felt hats, turned up with straight plumes, their waistcoats fastened with silver buttons, and a "szür," or long ample cloth cloak cut after the fashion of the toga, while their "gatya," or hose, large and full as Turkish trousers, fall on a shapely and well-arched boot. The very appearance of the people bespeaks their independent character, and possibly also the swagger into which this trait is apt to drift. "When the name of Hungary strikes my ear" (it was the opinion of Heine) "my German waistcoat becomes too tight; it is as if a sea stirred within me, as if I heard the sound of a clarion. In my heart resound ever the legendary exploits

* "Magyarland," by a Fellow of the Carpathian Society, vol. i., p. 109.

forgotten so long ago, the song barbed with the iron of the Middle Ages, the song of the *Niebelungen*." The dress of the women is equally striking. Under the half-dozen short petticoats projects a pair of long-legged red boots, often gaily embroidered. Her black hair, arranged in two plaits, is interlaced with red and green ribbons, and her whole figure is full of grace and liteness. Though the attire of the Magyar is pretty much the same everywhere, yet in different parts of the country there are local variations. For instance, at Zakany and elsewhere, the men wear tight-fitting cloth breeches, braided at the pocket often with gold, and long boots embroidered with acorns and garnished with spurs, and the dress of the women shows similar evidence of individuality (pp. 28, 32, 36, and Plate 12).

But whatever the variety of attire, the beauty of the race is everywhere the same. Even the country women, exposed to the hot sun of the plains and early bent by work, deserve their traditional reputation for good looks. Their features may perhaps not be very regular, but the type is refined, and even at this date a sharp observer has little difficulty in distinguishing the blending of the European and Oriental types. The women, moreover, as a recent traveller remarks, have that grace and nobility of bearing in every movement, which makes every country lass one meets appear like a lady born. Even the hard visages of the men, roughened by winter blasts and bronzed by summer suns, furrowed by care and aged by the mishaps of their stirring youth, soon grow on one, and the stranger who is willing to take the best view of his surroundings learns to look for a kindness of heart and goodness of disposition under a rugged exterior, and a manner oftentimes more brusque than agreeable. The beauty of the higher class Magyar ladies has been said to resemble that of the Circassians. M. Tissot is enthusiastic over the extreme freshness, delicacy, and purity of their complexions, be they blondes or brunettes. Their wavy hair is superb, and in their large Oriental eyes, shaded with long lashes, there mingle reverie with passion. Rosy lips, pearly teeth, supple figures, and tiny arched feet, complete a form which may even at a distance be recognised as that of a Magyar, by a walk noble, and easy, and completely without affectation—the whole with "a stamp of aristocracy and good manners," which is in marked contrast with the Germans, who are their nearest neighbours. The men are tall, manly, and even stately in form; but though handsome faces are not uncommon amongst the townsmen, and even the weather-beaten peasants, the rule is that the Hungarian females are finer-looking than their lords, a fact the very reverse of which obtains in Northern Europe, where for one fine-looking woman there are ten men with faces and figures which deserve remark. A French traveller—M. Drury—describes a peasant whom he noticed in the market at Pesth, with flat nose, round eyes, large projecting cheek-bones, and hanging moustaches, whom one might have believed to have been a companion of Attila. Such figures, clad in sheepskin, are not uncommon sights, and recall the Asiatic origin of the race more forcibly than the learned disquisitions of ethnologists. In truth, the Magyars, in their southern journeys and long residence in Hungary, have altered greatly from the pristine stock to which they belonged. Their faces and figures—such exceptions as that just noted being left out of account—have altered, and though the admixture of Slavonic blood will account for much of this change, yet it is hard to understand how the Lapp and the Finn, who are unquestionably their kindred, and may be regarded as the original stock—little metamorphosed in course of ages—differ so widely from them. The Northern Ugrians are

still for the most part short of stature, and by no means prepossessing in appearance (Vol. IV., p. 272), and like all the pastoral tribes of the north, with skulls more or less pyramidal.



WALLACHIAN PEASANT.

The Magyar, on the other hand, is, as we have seen, stalwart, and his cranium has acquired the elliptical form which is characteristic of their neighbours in Western and South-Western Europe.

Yet it is a common assertion that the Magyar race is showing signs of physical decay.

The principal argument adduced in support of this is that in Hungarian families there are usually very few children, though the Szekels of Transylvania, who are of pure Magyar blood,



WALLACHIAN PEASANT WOMAN.

have their quivers notoriously full. Nevertheless, on the Alföld or Great Plain, it is undeniable that children are scarcer than in other parts of the country. In many villages there the population is at a standstill. Dysentery is an epidemic which often carries away many of the little folk, and it is affirmed that owing to hard work, exposure, and a too

free indulgence in wine on the part of the men, widows are unusually abundant in that part of the kingdom. A Magyar peasant considers it unmanly to take too much care of his health, and though fond of belonging to a church which does not enjoin fasting, in the struggle for existence the abstemious Wallach manages to have the better of the more free-living Magyar. The truth is probably what Mr. Patterson has suggested it to be, that the Wallach does not shorten his life by over-exertion for the sake of those comforts which the Magyar considers necessities, for in Transylvania the Wallach is longer-lived than the Magyar, and the Magyar is endowed with more vitality than the equally laborious and more parsimonious Saxon. A small percentage of Magyar recruits are regarded as unfit for military service, though it is found that when they are mixed up in a regiment with men of other nationalities, even from the same district, they suffer proportionately more than these.

CHARACTER.

However, whatever may be the varieties of the Magyar in costume—and these are neither few nor slight (pp. 28, 32, 36)—their general characteristics are everywhere much the same, though local jealousies are as keen in Hungary as they are in Italy, where nearly every city preserves the memory of having been at some time or another a more or less sovereign State. For instance, the rest of the Magyars accuse the people of Debreczin of being selfish, unfriendly, greedy of gain, and—worst vice in the estimation of a kindly race—in hospitable, though how far these charges are justified it is hardly worth inquiring in a sketch so brief and general as ours must be. This virtue may be, owing to the wildness of many parts of their country until recent times, or from the inherited disposition of their Oriental ancestors; but certain it is that, unless where the stream of travellers would make this virtue a terrible burden, the Magyar, high or low, is one of the most hospitable of men. His goodness of heart and generosity are proverbial. The German soldier knows this so well that, in spite of the prejudices which he carries with him, he prefers being quartered in a Magyar village to having his temporary home among people of his own nationality. On the other hand, a Magyar, who has a somewhat lofty idea of what is due to him, is by no means so acceptable as a soldier-guest in a Magyar household as a German, whose notions of “his rights” are on a much more limited scale.

Conservatism is ingrained in the race. They care not for changes, and even their stout fight against the Austrians was only for the sake of returning to their ancient condition, the revolution which followed the present settlement not being in every case agreeable to the older school of Hungarians. An example of this love of ancient customs was not long ago ludicrously evinced by the town of Debreczin, of which we have already spoken. Within the memory of the present generation the streets of the old-fashioned places were totally unlighted, except where here and there a wily publican suspended a glimmering lamp over his doorway in order to guide some thirsty wanderer to the tavern which he was in search of. By-and-by the social clubs, or *casinos*, which were established by Count Stephen Széchenyi as one of the many quiet methods of consolidating the national feelings of his countrymen, became in favour even in Debreczin, and as one held its meetings directly

opposite the chief reformed church, it was thought advisable to set up a lamp in front of the sacred building, for the convenience of the members who might have occasion to cross the street for the club in the dark. The convenience was never denied. But for a time such an innovation caused great dissatisfaction among the citizens at large, who complained that the casino gentlemen had turned their church into a tavern. Patriotism and courage are unquestionably traits which may be regarded as common to the entire Magyar race, though the love of country and kindred is apt in many instances to degenerate into mere blatant invective against every other nationality, empty boastfulness regarding the greatness of the Magyars, and a fatal incapacity to see the shortcomings and errors of their country, while the pluck, which is the Hungarian's birthright, has of late more than ever been displayed in an almost Hibernian fondness for a faction fight. In brief, the Magyar's honest pride in himself and his ancestors is apt to develop into a contempt for his neighbours, a habit of extolling Magyar prowess, and that hateful swagger which the outside world has grown into the habit of associating with the Magyar out for a holiday. His Oriental origin crops out in that exaggerated love of display which is one of the most picturesque of the Hungarian's weaknesses. In dress, in language, even in education, this appears. Indeed, Mr. Patterson, who notes the traits which we have commented on, remarks that the Hungarian peasant does not say that it is a useful thing to read or write, or speak foreign languages, but that it is a "fine" thing to do so. His overweening confidence in himself has been the cause of many of the troubles which have befallen the Magyar's country. It never entered into his mind that he was not a match for the Austrian and the Slav, and to this day it is hopeless trying to convince a typical Hungarian, even of the better educated classes, that his country did not attain independence under Kossuth owing to lack of inherent power and organisation. "It was betrayed." The aristocratic feelings of the people are displayed in the contempt which is entertained by almost every Hungarian peasant for petty trade. The consequence is that the small shopkeepers in the Magyar villages are, with a few exceptions, Jews, while in the Swabian villages this branch of business is usually monopolised by the Germans. But that this is no peculiarity of race, but simply the effect of local prejudice, is proved by the fact that the citizens of Debreczin and Szeged have from time immemorial formed exceptions to the rule mentioned. The truth is that the Hungarians are still suffering for the traditions of their ancestors, and a civilisation which, however admirable in some respects, is not altogether in accord with the ideas of the nineteenth century, or with those which obtained among the Germans at the period when they began to emigrate into Hungary, and to practise there the industries which they had followed in their mother country. Nor is it quite correct to say that the Hungarian's "Oriental blood" renders mining repulsive to him. The real truth about the repeated assertions regarding the Magyar's laziness and dislike of hard work is that, having less desire for gain, he is not so anxious as the Slovack or the German for labour, which, if remunerative is not pleasant, though, when he does work, the Magyar works with a will, his pride and vanity as well as his sense of honour impelling him to put forth all his strength for the benefit of his employer. Hence it is considered more profitable to engage a steady young German or Slovack by the day, and an impulsive Magyar by the piece. At the same time, when the Hungarian is not compelled by necessity he has no objection

to idleness. Indeed, the indolence of the Magyar peasant has been a stock subject of declamation for most writers on Hungary, and by none more than the Hungarians themselves. Indolence is, however, differently understood in Hungary and in the German States in its vicinity. A Magyar, as Dr. Ditz remarks, does not consider himself to be indolent if he neglects to manure his land when the advantages of doing so are doubtful. Nor does he call it indolence if he bestows but a small amount of labour on his fields, if by tilling



WALLACHIAN POSTILION.

them a little worse the result will be quite equal to his wants, nor lack of enterprise if he sticks to the old-fashioned wooden plough, because he finds it difficult to find a smith capable of repairing an iron one. Until 1848, the relations between the proprietors and the cultivators of the soil were such that there was little inducement to work more than was absolutely necessary, while the isolated position of the country, far from the sea and from the highways of Europe, conduced to a certain want of energy on the part of the Magyars, which is now fast giving place to an amount of push and enterprise amazing to the older generation. The Hungarian climate is, moreover, extremely uncertain. The slightest labour will, with a fine season, return a noble interest on the peasant's toil, while a few hours of frost will render of no avail all his exertions during the previous six.

Accordingly, he gets apathetic. What is the good of distressing oneself, he says, when the best cultivated soil may be rendered unproductive by causes over which the farmer has



HUNGARIAN NUN.

no control? Better spend on it a fair amount of work and leave the rest to Providence. A certain amount of combined cunning and suspicion is a marked characteristic not only of the Hungarian country folk but of their class in many other parts of Europe, and in the land we are describing is often disguised by "an appearance of simplicity and even stu-

pidity." The Magyar lays this more particularly to the door of "the Schwab," declaring that he himself is the most frank and guileless of men, though a proverb current among the land-owners of Hungary would intimate that this belief is not shared by those who come most intimately in contact with him. "The mystery of the Trinity," it is the opinion of this profane adage, "and the cunning of the Magyar peasant, none have fathomed." On the other hand, a still more bitter saw expresses the peasants' opinion of their "proprietors" in the old semi-feudal times at least. "Az úr a pokolban is úr" ("a lord is a lord even in hell!"). In comparison with the German, the Magyar is distinguished by an agreeable politeness and courtesy both of language and behaviour. But this complaisance is not—Mr. Patterson hints, and his opinion does not stand alone—altogether free from a certain element of interested calculation. "To call his worship her lordship" has passed into a proverb. The Hungarian peasants are, however, very particular as to every one getting his proper title, or rather we should say, a title somewhat loftier than that which he might lawfully claim. They address each other as "Thy Grace," the form being varied if the person addressed be decidedly the inferior of the speaker by using "thou" instead of "thy," which is equivalent to the "you" and "thou" of Germany and Scandinavia; the variation in the pronoun, however, referring in the vernacular of the latter countries not to relative rank but to relative intimacy. A wife is in the Magyar peasant's idea a social inferior; hence she is addressed as *te*, and spoken of as *felesegem*, "my consort," while she uses *kend* when referring to him, and never speaking of her husband except as *wram*, "my lord," a form which finds its counterpart in some parts of England, where a wife styles her husband "my master." In walking along the road, also, the Hungarian peasant husband generally goes first, his wife following at a respectful distance behind. This is entirely in keeping with the Orientalism which is still so persistent in Hungary. A Magyar is believed to be much less under petticoat government than his German neighbours, for while the latter will sometimes submit to be beaten by their wives, no Magyar spouse will ever dream of inflicting such an indignity on her husband. The Magyar, however, despite the kindness he generally bestows on his spouse, is not so particular. "Does your husband love you?" the newly-married wife is represented as being asked by the guests. "I do not know," is the reply put into her mouth, "for he has not yet beaten me."

In brief—and this Turkish fashion of keeping up domestic discipline is not confined to the peasant class—the Magyar, according to those who know him best, is brave but not chivalrous. And brave he unquestionably is. The annals of Hungary bear witness to the dauntless heroism of her people, and, unless all history is a lie, the women have, when opportunities offered, displayed courage quite equal to that of their lords. During their long struggle against the Turks it was the invariable agreement among the citizens when the latter besieged a town to refuse capitulation, or even the mention of the word, on pain of death; and that when all the stores were exhausted, for the inhabitants to cast lots in order to decide who was to be slain to feed the survivors. The women followed their husbands to the trenches and in sorties, and at other times occupied themselves in repairing the broken walls. When the signal was given for the final assault the women ran to mingle in the ranks of the besieged, and were only to be distinguished from the men by their blind and impetuous courage. "Some fought," we are told by Boldenji, "hand-to-hand, others from the tops of the walls rolled down upon the assailants enormous blocks of stone, or poured floods of boiling oil

upon them." During the insurrection of 1848, the women exhibited heroism unequalled in modern times, unless we except the bravery displayed during the struggle of Paraguay against the Brazilians (Vol. I., p. 275), or that evinced so unsparingly during the Civil War in the United States. Without any hesitation wives sent their husbands, sisters their brothers, mothers their sons, into the struggle; and it is well known that more than one woman fought in the uniform of a private soldier. At Szentpaly a wealthy young girl is reported to have performed prodigies of valour, and another served in the ranks and was promoted for valour without her comrades or officers having ever suspected her sex. We have more than once spoken of the pride and even self-conceit characteristic of the average Magyar. Yet pronounced though these traits are among the people, the Hungarian peasant is said to so temper them by the patriarchal relations subsisting between him and his dependants, that they at all events have no reason to complain of haughtiness on the part of their employers. It is not uncommon for a rich peasant to give his daughter in marriage to his servant, and among the rich childless peasants of the Alföld it not unfrequently happens that the heirless farmer buys the child of some poor wandering Slovack and brings him up as his own. The employer and his employés share the same toil, sit at the same table, dress in much the same costume, enjoy the same recreations, and are on such terms of equality that they address each other as *édes gazdám* ("my sweet master") and *édes szolgám* ("my sweet servant"). Such scenes may be witnessed in any Hungarian village, and it is only by local knowledge that the visitor learns the relative social position of the people among whom he may at first mingle. The Hungarian peasant is especially a man of the plain, and when we find him living in the forests of Somogy and Zala, or, like the Szekels, in the mountainous tracts in the extreme east of Transylvania, we know that he has departed from his ancestral traits. The first Magyars who came into Hungary were nomadic tribes of warlike herdsmen, who, when they found themselves strong enough to settle, fixed their rude camps by the banks of the great rivers. And to this day the Hungarian village is only a permanent camp. The tents have been replaced, as M. de Gerando remarks, by houses; but their cottages resemble tents in form, and the villagers still instinctively keep the same space between the huts that they of old kept between their canvas prototypes, and the streets are left open, unpaved, and broad, as befits the highways of a nation of horsemen. In the middle of the village is a green or square, generally mud all winter, sand all summer, and here are usually situated side by side in the most tolerant of relations the two or more churches which the sectarianism of the villagers demands for their convenience. Nowhere do we find those tree-embosomed hamlets so common in England. The Magyar may not, as M. de Gerando hints, have brought into Hungary "the hereditary hatred of the Oriental for trees," since, as a matter of fact, the Oriental is rather fond of shade wherever he can find it; and if many of the Eastern people live on open plains it is because they are herdsmen, and trees are not usually denizens of regions where cattle and horses graze. But from whatever reason, the Magyar village is usually devoid of these ornaments. In it every cottage is built on the side of a small court or garden, separated from the highway by a fence of some kind, and as a rule the gable end of the house is turned to the road, and pierced with one or two small windows. Under the windows is placed a bench—called *szohordo* ("the bearer of words")—on which the gossips sit and exchange news when the evenings are fine. Above the window are the

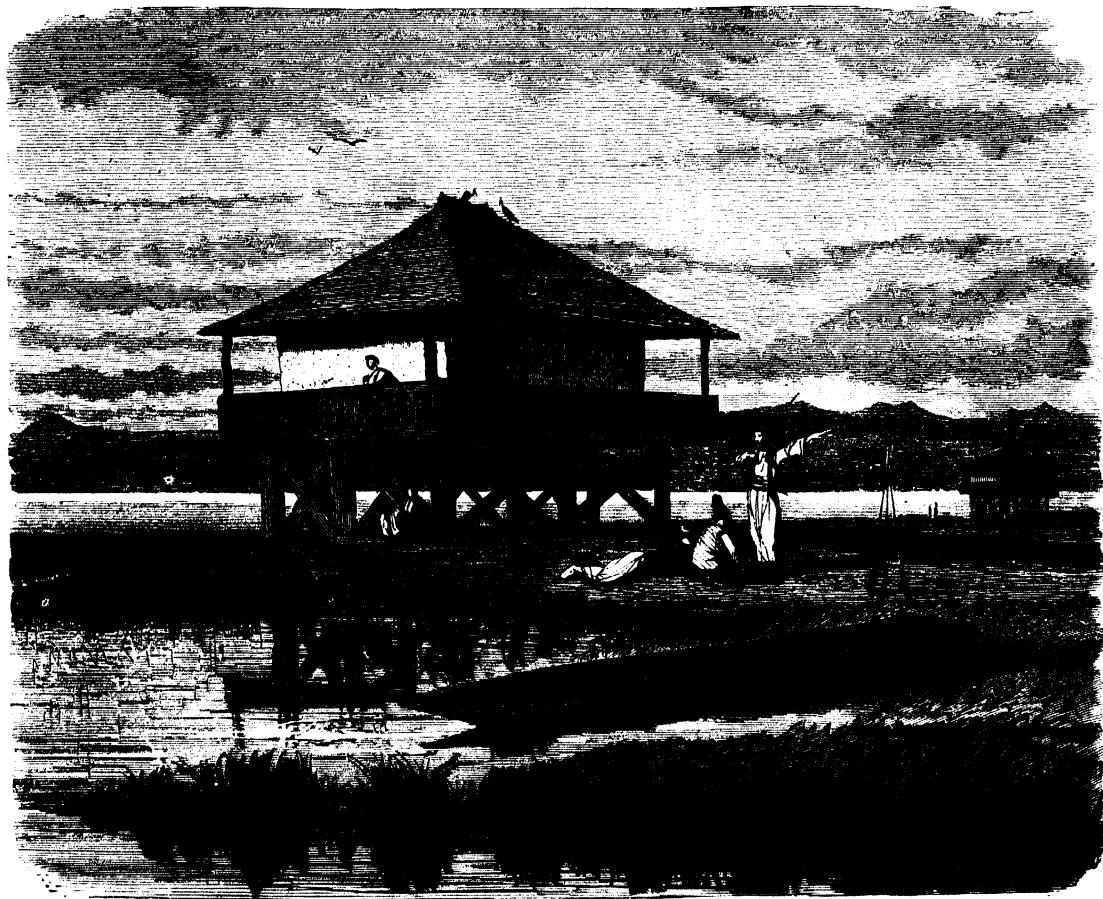
round holes pierced in the wall for the admission of light to the attic, or "loft" as it would be called in the North, and into one of these apertures, from some superstitious idea, are almost invariably placed a few ears of maize and the sickle with which they were reaped. If the house is of dimensions larger than ordinary, it often consists of two portions on opposite sides of the



SLAVONIAN PEASANT.

yard, the two being connected by a lofty arched gateway. The roof is thatched with straw or reeds, or, if timber is plentiful, with splints, or shingles of fir, though in the towns tiles are common. The eaves are broad enough to project over a kind of brick terrace, which admits of the inmates making the circuit of the house without stepping into the mire and mud, which during the rainy season surrounds it beyond this paved path. Happily, a Magyar

is fond of whitewash, and hence, whenever he feels that he can spare this luxury, he decorates the exterior, already of a dazzling white, with bits of green, blue, or dark red, which have a gay effect, though the result is somewhat garish to an eye that still requires to get familiarised with Hungarian sights. As a rule the floor is simply of stamped clay, and no matter how roomy may be a Magyar's cottage, he is almost certain to reserve only one apart-



GUARD-HOUSES ON THE MILITARY CONFINES.

ment as a bedroom for the entire family. The remainder he either lives in or keeps for the accommodation of some honoured guest who may unexpectedly quarter himself on the wealthy farmer. The great proprietors have, of course, elegant mansions. Yet many a dignitary entitled to the rank and title of baron or lord inhabits a house which, so far as its arrangements are concerned, is only an enlarged edition of the cottage described. The rooms may be many and loftier and more handsomely furnished, and the brick walk under the eaves may have expanded into something like a corridor, but in other respects it is easy to trace the prototype in its somewhat transformed copy.*

* Patterson: "The Magyars," vol. i., pp. 175—177.

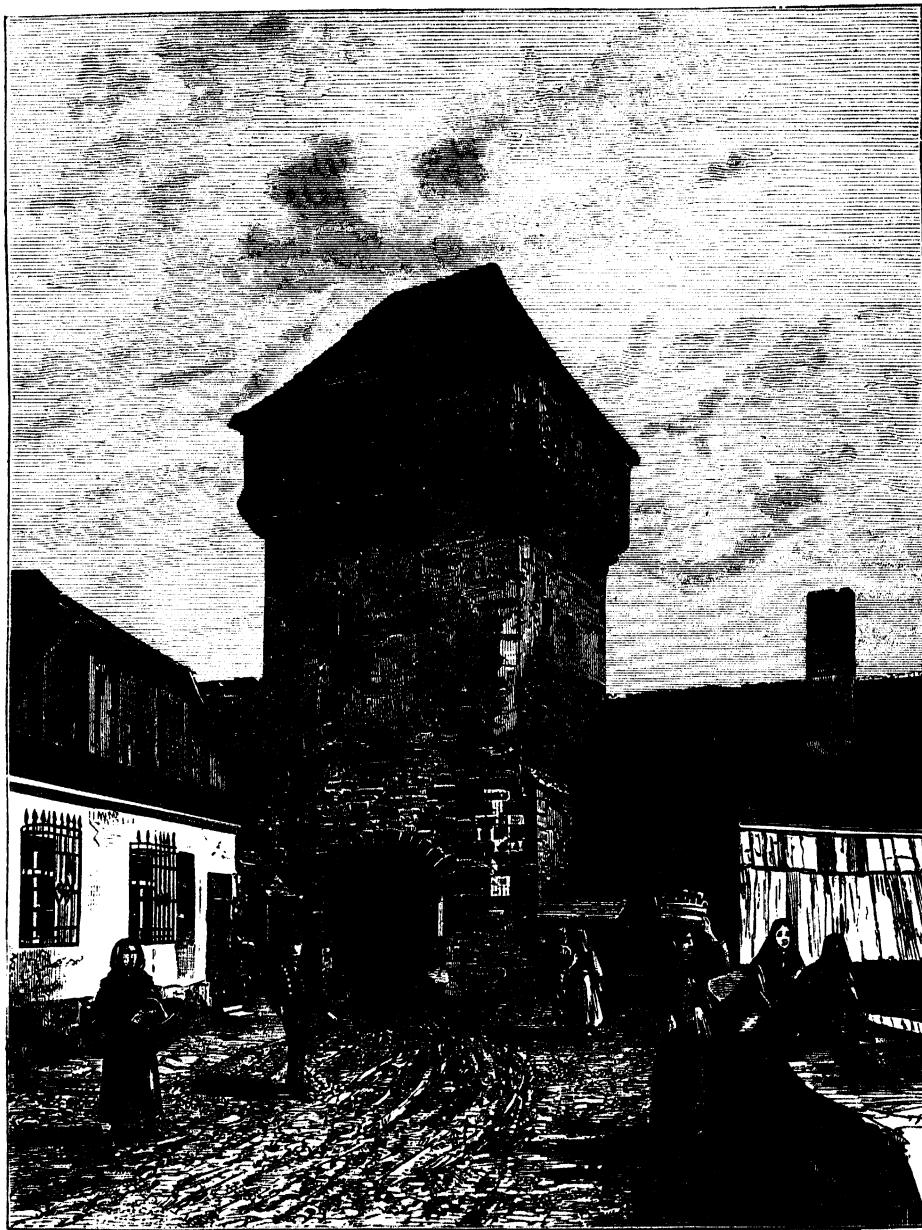
PEASANTS AND NOBLES.

More than once we have used these terms, and before we are done with the Magyars may have occasion to employ them again. It is well, therefore, before proceeding further, to say something regarding the relative status of these two great classes. Before the emancipation of the serfs the entire population was divided into the men who had got the franchise—and were therefore "Ungur," free, or noble—and those who had not that privilege. But though these distinctions have now become entirely obliterated, the reader would receive a very erroneous impression were he to carry away the idea that class rank has disappeared. It is still as keen as ever, though under forms different from what obtained in former times. The Jews and the gypsies were never peasants; they were generally, if not universally, rated as much inferior to them. Nor, of course, were the citizens entitled to that designation at any period of Hungarian history, while the remainder of the Hungarian people, no matter how poor or how ignorant they were, ranked in the social hierarchy as "honorationes" or noblemen—that is to say, they were hereditary electors. Many of them followed the same occupation as the peasants, and hence in the books of foreign travellers they are generally called "peasant nobles," which was not far out of the way, as those farmers who owned no allegiance to an overlord, were in reality peasants who had been ennobled for some reason or other. They were, to use the country phrase, "geadelte Bauern"—"ennobled rustics"—of which class there are still many examples in Hungary. Across the Leitha there are whole villages and market towns whose inhabitants are, by the simple fact of having been born within their bounds, Hungarian "nobles." They have thus been distinguished "for all time" by some king for services rendered, and the patent of nobility can be seen among the civic archives. For instance, the "Hajduken" were a set of rascals who in the days of the "Bürger" wars made themselves a scourge throughout Austria by reason of their pillaging and murderous conduct generally, and under Stefan Boeskay they figured as rebels. But when they were forced to settle down, there being no more fighting to do, the entire population of places which they selected as their abodes—notably Nanas, Derogh, Szoboszlo, &c.—was ennobled by the king, and remained so till this day. Again, everybody—at least everybody who knows anything of Hungary—must be aware that all the proud denizens of Laszlo Nemessoe, in the county of Szalder, are one and all of gentle blood. The reason is curious. It happened that when King Ladislaus was on a journey to Dalmatia, the "pin" of one of the wheels of the royal carriage came out and was lost, to the imminent risk of his Majesty being then and there pitched into the mire. There was not a smith within a mile, and kings, in those days as in ours, hate to wait. But just as the sovereign's temper was getting the better of him at the delay, and he was thinking dire things of his trembling coachman, there advanced with awe and obeisance a peasant, who meekly stuck his finger into the pin-hole, so preventing the wheel from coming off, and thus ran along with the royal carriage to the next stage, when a smith repaired the injury to the wheel. As for the peasant, his Majesty was so touched by his devotion that he conferred nobility on the whole village which could produce so loyal a subject. But though from that hour the Laszlo Nemessoeites ceased to be peasants in name, they did not cease to be peasants in occupation. To this hour no Hungarian confuses the distinction between a "peasant" and a "noble," though the word

"paraszt" or Bauer has been officially abolished. Prior to the revolution of 1848, the country of Borsod contained at least 30,000 "noblemen," and had on that account the reputation of being the most turbulent in the kingdom, each "noble" claiming the privilege of being tried by his peers. If a man had been born "noble"—that is, free, capable of appearing and voting in person at the county assemblies—no degree of poverty, no depth of ignorance, could disfranchise him; only actual crime could deprive him of his rank, as a "representative of the original free conquerors of the land, a co-partner in sovereignty with the king." He could not be arrested for debt, or, indeed, for any other offence, except suspicion of high treason against his Majesty. He might commit murder, highway robbery, or burglary, but before appearing in the dock he had to be first summoned three times to answer before his peers at the County Tribunal. The chances are that he was a day labourer, and ignorant of Latin, in which the deliberations were carried on; yet he swaggered into the "congregation" and voted with the best of them, be he count or baron; and as one-twentieth of the entire population were "noble" the chances were that the great proprietors could not carry things with a very high hand. In 1840 they were estimated at 700,000, but in 1867, those who cherished the memory of their now all but nominal position, were but 400,000, the "noble" village of Nemessoe, which used to cast 300 votes, having only 200 of these hereditary electors, or, as they would have been called in certain English boroughs, "freemen." Their position was most anomalous. Puffed up with self-conceit at the idea that they were the equal of the gentry, they limited their families in order to keep up a kind of sham grandeur, ran into debt, and contracted habits of debauchery, owing to the way in which they were bribed and treated about election time by those who found it convenient to buy their votes or solicit their interest. The Constitution of 1848, however, preserved their privileges as voters intact, though it deprived them of their immunities as ordinary subjects. It is, however, more than likely that before long the "short-horn," or "one-spurred" nobles, as they are contemptuously styled by the other Hungarians, will lose the right of voting without property or other qualification. These "sandalled noblemen"—as those of Slovack or Wallach nationality are called—were, however, even in those days of greatest privilege, looked down upon from a lordly height by the broken-down "gentleman," no matter how small his possessions in the world, and how great the wealth of the "common noble." The gentry and he were separated by a gulf which florins could not fill—though, originally, they were simply to each other as chiefs are to men-at-arms. But whatever may be the future of the "noblemen," their day is practically over, though the memory of their quondam status will always influence the social history of the country.

The squire or country gentleman was, especially in the old times, a person of very different character from the "common noble," for he was a noble of a most uncommon quality, being reasonably well educated, capable of talking fluently and perhaps even grammatically in Latin, and of sufficient acquaintance with every-day law to sit as an assessor in the county court. Hence, being a person of some landed property, he was generally elected to this office, and as a rule conducted himself in such a position with something of the blundering equity of Squire Western at Quarter Sessions. The peasants he regarded as far beneath him, though the "tablabiro," to use his familiar title, was always willing to use his influence in a patriarchal sort of way for their benefit. As for the "common nobles"

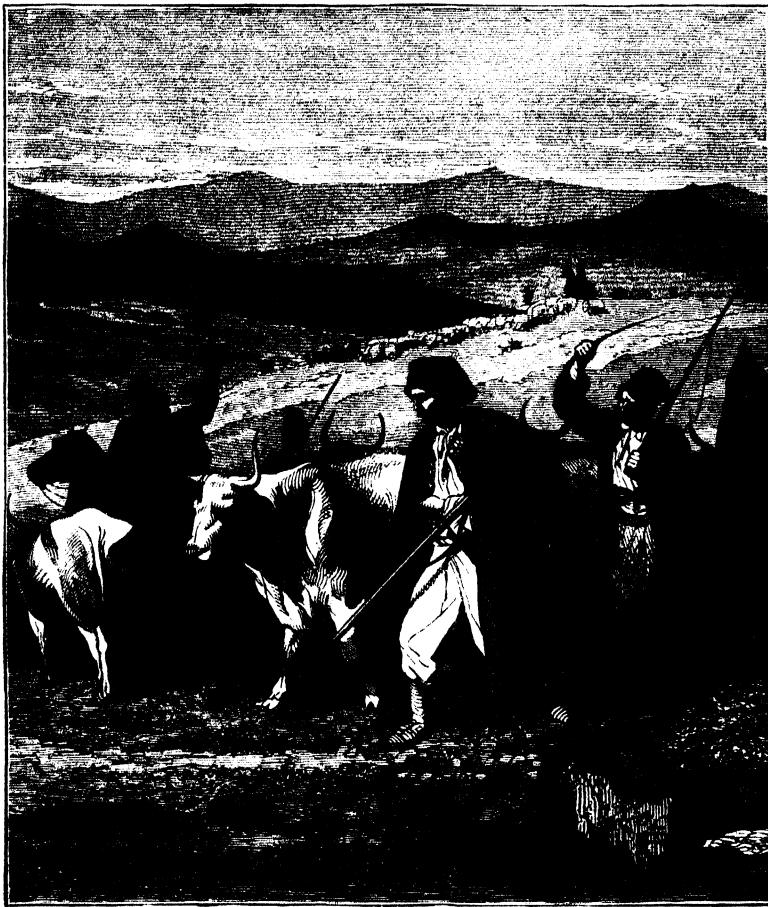
the squire was more in the habit of breaking jests at their self-importance than anything else, though, as forty years ago they retained in their hands the electoral power of the



OLD GATE OF KOLOSVAR, TRANSYLVANIA.

country, he reserved his satire until they were out of earshot. His main contempt was for the briefless lawyers, and "noisy journalists," like Kossuth, who were rapidly taking the lead in all political movements, though when the time came, his hatred of "the German" compelled him to accept their captaincy rather than remain at home while his neighbours

were in the field. As for the magnates—the great nobles and landowners who sat in the Upper House of Legislature—he regarded them at once with envy and suspicion, a feeling which was in too many cases most cordially reciprocated. The modern "tablabiro" is getting to be a very different personage. He is noted neither for his hard drinking nor for his hard swearing, and in politics inclines more to the Liberal than to the Conservative



HERDSMEN ON THE MILITARY CONFINES.

side. The squire of the old school looked upon books as he did upon the wearing of German trousers, as something for which there was no necessity. His successor is, *per contra*, rather prone to omniscience, to read or learn a little about everything, and yet to know nothing with any accuracy, as men in new countries—which Hungary, like Russia, essentially is—are apt to do. In brief, the old type of Magyar squire is rapidly dying out, and if he exist it will be merely in the pages of the novelist or the playwright, or in some remote part of the country still unaffected by railways and telegraphs, and the new-fangled ways which they bring in their train.

The magnates, on the other hand, are the great nobles, who in most instances are also

the great landowners, though owing to the fact of property being subdivided at death this does not follow in every instance. These dignitaries form the Upper House of Legislature, or Chamber of Magnates, the number of which varies, owing to the fact that all the sons of a count or a baron have seats in it as soon as they attain the age of twenty-four. Thus, in 1883, the House of Magnates consisted of 831 members—namely, two princes of the reigning family, fifty archbishops, bishops, and other high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches, 772 peers of Hungary and Transylvania, five other representatives from Transylvania, and two from Croatia. But, practically, this Chamber is simply a Court of Registration for the decrees of the Lower House, and as any magnate has the right of standing for and being elected to the “Commons,” it follows that some of the best blood of the “Lords” is drained into the popular Chamber. Yet the Hungarian magnates of the first class are very great personages indeed. Ten of the chief families are said to own a sixth of the area of the kingdom. When Mr. Coke, the famous flock-master, asked a certain Prince Batthyani if he had ever seen as many sheep as the wealthy squire of Holkar ordered to be defiled before him, the Hungarian replied somewhat drily that he himself “had about as many shepherds.” Yet, considering their riches and territorial grandeur, the Magyar magnates do not exercise that influence in political life which a great English landowner or noble does. The reason is that during the Austrian domination the magnates frequented the Court of Vienna, and there forgot their native tongue, and learned—they and their children—to half despise, or at least not to properly appreciate, their native country. Since 1867 there has been a change in this respect. Yet, even now, the magnate affects his fellow-subjects more from a social than from a political point of view, and then merely by exciting their envy, their rivalry, their wonder, or their satire not unmingled with hate. There are scores of magnates with the title of baron and count who are as poor, and it may be as little polished, as the squires around them; and, again, there are plenty of untitled gentry, as there are in England, whose claim to take their place among the highest in the land is never for a moment questioned. Indeed, considering the fact that the enormous domains owned by one family or one man must to some extent at least entail great poverty on hundreds outside the borders of their vast estates, or compel a dependence which is ill-brooked by a proud and rather turbulent race, the ill-will to the magnates is not to be wondered at. The widespread domains of the Hungarian magnates are the remains of an ancient Roman custom, which went far to effect the ruin of Italy. The lands of the Sina family, for example, consist of thirty-nine square miles, all farmed by themselves, and at one time extended to 780 square miles, a principality which requires a perfect army of labourers to work, and the superintendencies of which are more sought after in Hungary than, to use M. Tissot’s phrase, “are places in the Ministry.” Still, though the “sandalled nobility,” of whom we have already spoken, comprises such a swarm of people that plenty of them are swineherds, shepherds, and domestic servants, not including the peasants who lost their nobility because they arrived too late on the battle-field, and are to this day known as “Tobb agyok” (people who liked to lie a-bed), the higher nobility number 136,000, among whom only 150 are known as magnates who have princely possessions; though in Hungary, as in other more democratic countries whose example she is fast following, the tendency of the times is to multiply rather than diminish the number of landowners.

But the real, the typical Hungarian, is the simple peasant, with or without a title. Like the Continental peasant generally, he is entirely different from the English agricultura labourer, or even from the small Irish farmer to whom the same title is often erroneously applied. The English labourer is not a landowner, nor possesses in any way "a beneficiary interest in the soil." The farmer, again, is a capitalist who does not necessarily work himself, but employs his money in agriculture as he would in any other business. The Continental peasant, on the other hand, is in the majority of instances the lineal descendant of men who were originally chained to the land as serfs, and who, though now free, follow the business of agriculture as a trade, which is almost hereditary, owing to the fact that they own their lands, and that their lands are subdivided on the death of the parents. Hence, living for ages under one stereotyped condition of existence, belonging almost entirely to one caste, rarely leavened by intermarriage with the citizens or with foreigners, the peasants have acquired and perpetuated certain characteristics which are more or less common to their order. Dancing is with all of them a passion, and some of their dances are peculiar to the nation; music they are also fond of, though mainly as an accessory to dancing; and in the majority of cases the orchestra is supplied by gypsies, who wander about from village to village for the purpose of discoursing their wild melody, telling fortunes, working a little, and it is affirmed not without some foundation, of supplying poison to wives weary of their lords, and to husbands who long for another spouse. A true Magyar, Mr. Patterson tells us, regards the fiddler's art as beneath him, though the herdsman and the shepherd may without social degradation play the "tilinka," a sort of flageolet, and in certain hilly districts a long horn of bark is sounded by the herdsmen. Fiddling is, however, the gypsy's choice vocation, a skill in which serves to raise him far above his fellows, who are merely wandering tinkers, farriers, thieves, or farmers in a small, squalid way. In Hungary there can be no entertainment without a "czigany." A peasant must be poor indeed who cannot afford to hire a gypsy band, and when one hears in Hungary of a noble or a squire who has run through his fortune or encumbered his estate, the chances are that the sums which he squandered on musicians will figure extensively among the causes of his ruin. A gypsy fiddler is said to have given his daughter a dowry of 20,000 florins, and though it is possible that this was a very exceptional case, unquestionably many of this class are rich, and would be wealthier still were it not for their reckless extravagance. The Magyar regards the gypsy as a kind of retainer, who is dependent on him. After the insurrection of 1848-9 was crushed, and the peasants and country gentlemen were poor, the gypsies suffered on account of the poverty of their old patrons, and it is affirmed visibly decreased in numbers. Even yet they do not prosper in regions where the frugal Swabian is in the majority, and Mr. Patterson, who had excellent opportunities of knowing, declares that he never yet met a "czigany" who could speak German. In the public gardens of Pesth and other Hungarian towns, a gypsy orchestra is indispensable. The Magyars are passionately fond of their wild tunes; the effect on some excitable natures is indeed something amazing, men and women who a few minutes before were seemingly stolid, and almost dead to every object surrounding them, suddenly becoming half crazy with passion, and pouring out *largesse* to the musicians with a munificence seemingly quite out of keeping with the dress and general appearance of the givers (pp. 56, 57).

The peasant has few political prejudices outside his own country, except it may be a

hatred of the German, and of late a strong feeling against the Croats and other Slavs, who contest with him for the chief control of the government, and in the Kossuth rebellion did their



GYPSY OF VOAKOVAR, SLAVONIA.

best to thwart his aspirations after freedom. About that period also the ancient hatred which he naturally enough bore to the Turk was changed into warm regard, owing to the generous manner in which the Sultan behaved to the Hungarian refugees, and the courageous front he presented to Russia and Austria, when, by so doing, he ran serious risks of embroiling himself

with his powerful neighbours. This friendly feeling was again renewed during the late Russo-Turkish war, and at one time was so keen that when the Hungarians were required to supply



GYPSY IN PRISON.

their contingent for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a task not accomplished without the expenditure of much blood and treasure, there was some danger of difficulties between the empire whose capital is at Vienna and the kingdom of which Pesth is the seat of government. England is also liked, but after a different fashion. It is not so much the

country, which few of the people know anything about, or the people, regarding whose ways the majority are equally ignorant, that they esteem. And after all, it is questionable whether there is much esteem in the feelings towards us, for the Anglo mania, so prevalent among the fashionable folk of Magyarland, is simply a whim which rose, like a similar craze in France prior to the Revolution, and to a certain sense exists still, for no very defined reason, and may vanish just as easily. The "Flamingos," or dandies of Pesth, vastly affect English manners, and the more the exquisite approaches that doubtful dignitary known as a "short horn magnate" the more anxious is he to speak English in public, to read after a fashion the English newspapers at the Casino, and perhaps to wear gaiters in circumstances in which he might imagine a Briton would don such appendages to his nether garments. The result of this Anglo mania is that fox-hunting and horse-racing are established amusements in Hungary. Some magnates even go to Africa to shoot lions, because they had heard that this pastime was *haut ton* in the land which it was their desire to imitate. So keenly, indeed, was it regarded as the "correct thing" to shoot, bet, and run horses, that the patriot who first established a sporting paper in Pesth was elected a member of the Academy, in gratitude for this distinguished service to his country's literature. "I have seen many English," a simple-minded Magyar serving-man is reported to have remarked after his return from a visit in London, "but not one so English as my master." In other respects the Hungarians are pretty much like the stranger outside their gates. Their morals are affirmed not to be high, and certainly it would be surprising were certain portions of the country distinguished by a lofty standard of conduct. The "military confines" are to this day a kind of moral Alsatia for which good Magyars find it necessary to apologise (p. 53). They are now entirely abolished, so far as their original function is concerned, but in former times the "confines" played an important part in the history of the countries between which they lay as a kind of geographical buffer. They were strips on the borders of the Unna and the Save—the two rivers which separate the Austro-Hungarian empire from Turkey—and were intended to prevent inroads of the truculent people whose country lay on the nether side of this frontier. The men were all soldiers, from father to son, and here were recruited the boldest of the forces which did battle for their Fatherland. The "Pandours," famous in song and story, the most skilled shots in all the empire, were drafted from this region. Reared in the utmost hardihood, and never for a moment entertaining any other dream than that their lot in life was to serve the Kaiser, the native of the military frontier fought about as well on foot as on horseback, slept soundly in the snow, and thrrove on a morsel of bread dipped in plum brandy. During the wars of Italy and Hungary it has been calculated that there were 30,000 widows and 60,000 orphans made in these military colonies of the Croatian sea-coast and of the banks of the Save. The "Grenzer," or Borderers, held their lands on a military tenure. The *régime* under which they lived was absolutely feudal, the colonist enjoying the soil in perpetual and irrevocable fief on one condition alone, viz., that at the bidding of the Emperor he was to immediately join the standard, and in times of peace give so many days out of the week, month, or year, as forced labour to the State. Every morning the Borderers set forth from these villages—one band to mount sentry at the guard-houses along the frontier, the other, also in uniform, but with a rake and spade on their shoulders instead of a musket and knapsack, to work in the fields they owned in common. These duties

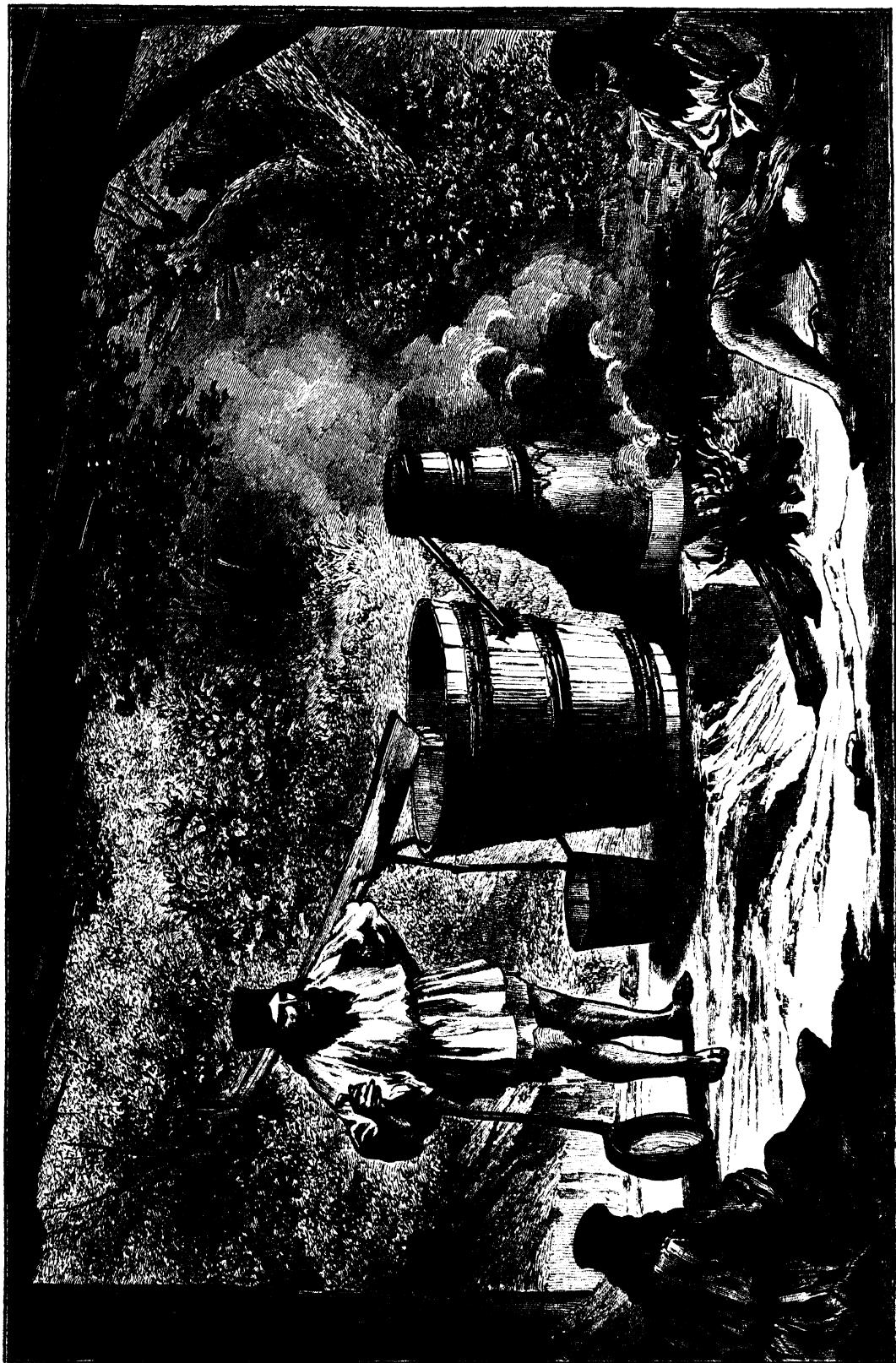
he rendered for one week out of every three. He did not complain. It was the business of his life, and the service which he had been taught from childhood would in due time be exacted of him, and in no army in the world could the men know their duties better than did the rude Borderers theirs. The guard-house (p. 49) was usually no better than a wooden hut raised on piles, and at the period of the overflow the inmates were sometimes imprisoned until they could be relieved either by boat or by the water subsiding; and in winter the sentry had often to take up his station on a snow-covered plateau, across which the bitter blasts blew without pity. If the enemy advanced under cover of night, the guard knew that his first duty was to light a tar-barrel fixed on the summit of a pole, and then at this signal a perfect cordon of beacons burst forth all along the military frontier. From the age of twenty every man was a soldier. Without the leave of his colonel a father could not have his son taught a trade, and his daughters were disinherited if they married outside the ranks. Indeed, writes M. Tissot, from whom we have gleaned these data, it was nothing uncommon for a woman to mount guard in place of her husband, and perform the duty quite as well as he could have done. In the military confines, civil circles or districts were unknown. In their place were regimental communes, of which the governor was the colonel, who had the power of life and death within his jurisdiction. The villages were all military camps *en permanence*, and the huts were often devoid of the simplest furniture, or what in civil life would have been regarded as necessaries. The family slept—I may say sleep, for though the military organisations of the confines have been abrogated, the people and their ways of life are much the same as ever they were—pell-mell on the floor of a single room. This condition of affairs was not conducive to high morality. Hence the evil reputation which the people bear. The law obliged the Borderer to live in a community at the head of which was a patriarch, who attained that dignity after being beyond the age at which he was liable to military service. If a colonist quitted his clan without permission he was brought back as a deserter, and punished by stripes or imprisonment. Did he repeat the crime he was decreed unworthy of being a soldier, and sentenced to be a mere carter of stores and ammunition to the military—a lot in itself equivalent to penal servitude.

But, as may be readily believed, the life of the Borderer was not without its compensations. In the first place, their land was certain and their bread was sure. In the next, they held a sort of superior position in the empire, in so far that they constituted its first line of defence, and what to many of them was even more important, the “confines” constituted even in the worst days a sort of exception to the slavery of conscience which in some degree prevailed everywhere else. Here any man or woman could profess what he or she pleased, and, in addition, the Catholics had the privilege of electing their own bishop. These concessions were regarded as so important that many Christians from Bosnia and Servia voluntarily threw in their lot with the colonists. Accordingly, at the close of last century, the population of the confines was estimated at something like a million, the males among whom formed a living wall of sentinels who watched day and night the frontier between Austria and Turkey, thus acting as a barrier against the inroads of the ruthless Moslems into Central Europe. At this point also all infected or suspicious merchandise coming from the plague-infected East was stopped, and thus the confines may be regarded as helping, at a time when the most deadly epidemics raged on the Asiatic side of the cordon,

to protect Christendom from their ravages. The idea of the military confines was no doubt borrowed from the Romans, who instituted similar military colonies to protect themselves from invasion by the Germans, Sarmatians, Dacians, and Goths ; and the Russians have adopted much the same practice in Asia. In Austria the confines were established in 1526, after the victory of the Turks at Mohacz had inspired all Europe with terror. The inhabitants of the confines bear distinct marks of their long military life. Nowhere can be seen finer looking or more soldierly men, and Hungary might be ransacked for women so beautiful as the frail ladies of this peculiar section of the Empire Kingdom. At the same time, it is not here that the ethnologist seeks the purest type of Magyar. The colonists have been recruited from various sources, and many of them are descended, at no very distant period, from Bosnian bandits, who found it convenient to put the frontier between them and their native land ; and among other races there are Germans, Wallachs, and, in brief, specimens of most of the nationalities which help to make up the heterogeneous subjects of the Austrian Kaiser-könig.*

We have mentioned brigandage. In Hungary to this day there are traces of this, and half the stories circulating round the fires of the peasants relate to these "poor lads," as they are with delicate euphemism styled, though more correctly the term *betyar* is applied to them. "Betyar" is, however, a word which has a double meaning. Originally it meant simply a farm-servant who was engaged for a few months instead of for a whole year, as the *beres* or second class are. But gradually it has got applied to the "masterless men" out of regular employment, and, like idle men generally, ready for any mischief which might come ready to their hands. From this kind of "betyar" the transition to a stealer of horses, pigs, oxen, or a regular highwayman, was not very abrupt. Hence the word may have a meaning which is rather flattering in the rustic vocabulary, in so far that it expresses a reckless sort of blade, great at country fairs and games, and quite irresistible to the fair sex when he can manage to raise the wherewithal to buy a gay jacket, or breeches embroidered to the point at which the owner's lissom legs might be credited by them in the village dance. But it has also a secondary application when it refers to a confirmed vagabond, rogue, or worse. At one time—though not so much nowadays as in former times—a Magyar peasant, if he lost his wife or was jilted by his sweetheart, consoled himself by a few years of vagabondage—idle, aimless existence, not necessarily criminal, but simply roving about the country from farm-house to farm-house, receiving everywhere the hospitality which is still the salient feature in Magyar country life, and in the far-away days before 1848 was even more pronounced than at present. Sometimes he drifted from being a *betyar* into the calling of a *szegeny legeny*, or "poor lad"—in other words, a brigand. In many cases the title was not undeserved, for he was often an unwilling recruit drafted into the army to gratify the dislike of the magistrate who had the nomination of those who were to be sent in reply to the demand of the Diet, at a period when regular military conscription did not obtain in Hungary. Then rather than join his regiment the peasant became an outlaw, and as such was sympathised with by his class. After the Austrians established conscription, this motive for taking to the wilderness was even more pronounced than before. At the same time it would be wrong to imagine that the farmers were always in league with the brigands. They might not willingly court their

* Tissot: "Unknown Hungary," vol. i, pp. 71—78.



WALLACHIANS DISTILLING PLUM BRANDY.

enmity any more than at one time in this country the owner of a stack-yard was anxious to go out of his way to make himself a marked man for the gypsies' ire, since the peasant who had handed over to justice eleven of a gang of brigands, might find some dark night that the twelfth had set "the red cock crowing" on the informer's barn. Some of the worst bandits who have plagued Hungary have been of foreign origin—emigrants from Bosnia or roamers from the forests of Bakony to the banks of the Theiss, but they were rarely so bad as their reputation, and of late years have, like so many other old world wickednesses, disappeared before telegraphs, good roads, steam ploughs, and railway trains. But even anterior to 1848 the government had taken vigorous measures to root out this pest of highway robbers, or rather of robbers who plundered not only on the roads, but entered lonely country houses with felonious intentions, and even when in considerable numbers laid regular siege to them until the owner had to surrender, make what terms he could, or drive off the unwelcome callers. The police, the gendarmes, and the pandours were always scouring the country in search of them, while in the districts especially infested there were regular officers known as "persecutors," or brigand hunters, who frequented fairs and markets in disguise, though on ordinary occasions they wore uniform, rode on horseback, armed with a cuirass, a lance, a brace of pistols, a pole with a hatchet, and a lasso to noose those of whom they were in chase. These "Handagny," as they are called in Southern Hungary, were generally natives of the districts which they scoured, and in every case were familiar with every rood of it. This local knowledge is what the latter day police are deficient in, for it is said that they sometimes ask the way of the very man whom they have come out to arrest. Moreover, their uniform puts the rascals on their guard, and in the forest of Bakony cases are on record in which the brigands, hidden behind trees and in ravines, have shot the unfortunate pandours as they rode along unsuspecting of their prey being so near at hand. Endless tales are told of the *diablerie* of these bandits and of the Claude Duval-like politeness of others. But many of these stories bear the impress of having been freshened up by the imagination of the *raconteur*, while others have so much of a family likeness to those told of half the outlaws, from Robin Hood to Dick Turpin, that they may be dismissed as a species of folk-lore peculiar to the entire tribe of footpads and highwaymen. This digression on one form of immorality has, however, led us aside from the theme on which we were discoursing when the *fucilis descensus* from betyar to brigand carried us along with it.

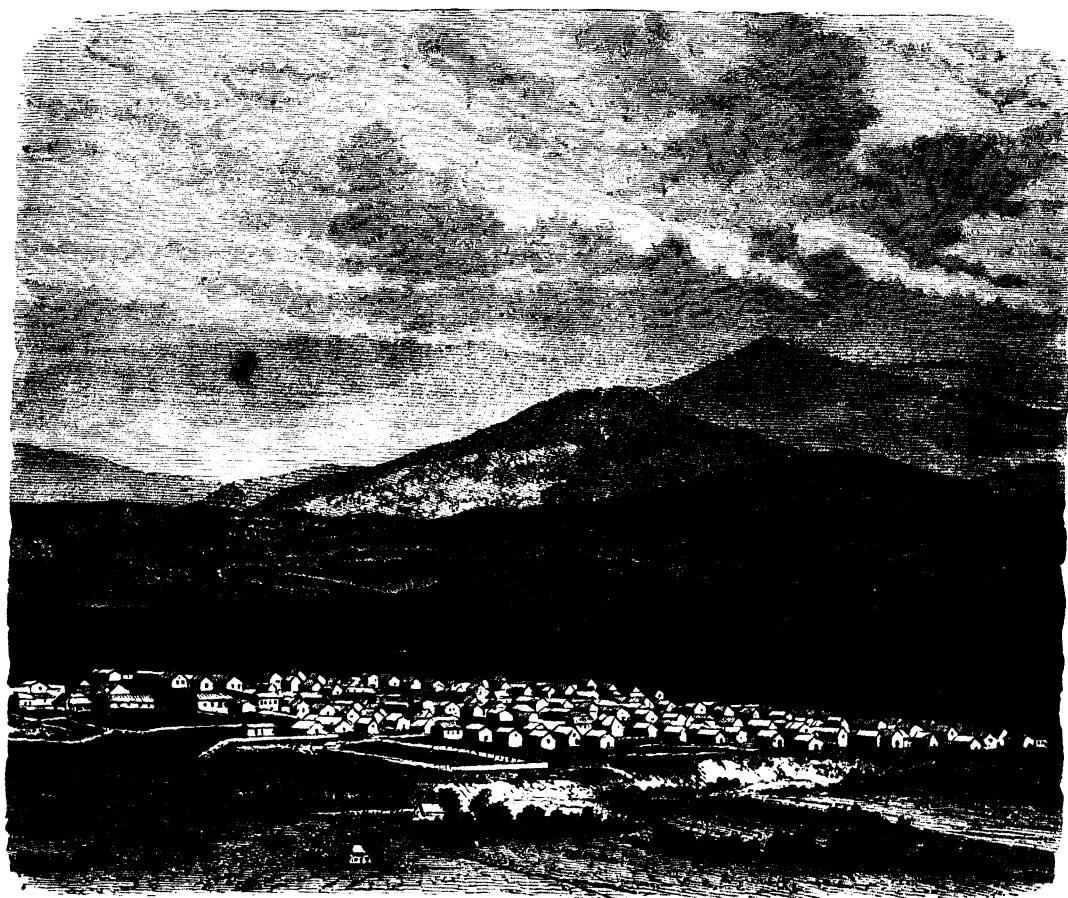
A lack of foresight is not a sin, but if it were the Magyar peasant would be the most immoral of mortals. If the harvest is good he is prosperous, but should the season turn out badly then the farmer lies at the mercy of the Jews, whom accordingly he hates with all the venom which from Russia to the Adriatic is vented on the head of the over-keen usurer. He is, moreover, fond of law, and is quite capable of defending himself should he prefer to conduct his own case. But the peasant must be very poor who does not imagine himself perfectly fitted to take a wife. There is no doubt, as pretty well all the world over, plenty of courting and love-making in Hungary, and marriages of affection are perhaps not much rarer there than elsewhere. However, the well-dowered lass is always sure of a husband, while the man who does not possess a finely-embroidered cloak had better delay his marital intentions until he can acquire that indispensable adjunct to a suitor in a young girl's eyes. The wooing lasts a long time, and is conducted with an amount of freedom which out of Wales

and the Shetland Isles, would be regarded as decidedly verging on impropriety, though old established custom has led to the fashion of the young man enveloping his sweetheart in his capacious cloak being considered no more than a delicate attention, the neglect of which might be resented. A marriage is, however, a serious business—for the bride's parents. The feast attending it lasts for three days, during which period hundreds of pounds of meat will be consumed, and whole hecatombs of geese and other fowls sacrificed in honour of the occasion. The evening before the wedding the bridegroom arrives with his friends in a carriage, to inspect the painted wooden chest containing the bride's household linen, her clothing, and the requisite bedding, and to carry it up and down the village with songs, shouts, firing of muskets, and that endless cracking of whips in which the Magyar and Wallach take so inordinate a delight. The asking in marriage is, as in the East, a very formal affair. It must be done by a third person, and through the medium of the go-between the rings and other pledges of—not exactly affection, but of the completed contract—are exchanged. The young man's gifts consist of forty to fifty florins in money ; the girl's, if she is rich enough, of three handkerchiefs, which cost from thirty to forty florins, or about from sixty to eighty shillings. The two "best men who accompany the bridegroom on his wedding-day must be married, though the bridesmaids, who dress in white and carry the crowns, are always spinsters. As in the north of Europe, these crowns play an important part in the marriage ceremony, that used by the bride being gaily spangled, and ornamented in the middle with a little mirror, and the national colour of red, white, and green. It is of course carefully preserved as a precious memento of the auspicious occasion." After the wedding ceremony is ended, the bridegroom's friends, headed by a band of musicians, come to fetch the bride, who thus escorted goes to her new home, and then, as well as during the procession to the church, firearms are discharged, and other noisy demonstrations made by the guests, who afterwards sit down to table and prolong the feast far into the night. It is the custom, and a curiously suggestive one it is, for each guest to dance in turn with the bride, and then to give her a few kreutzers (or pence), in exchange for which he receives a kiss. Each guest also brings a present, which consists of a fowl, a pigeon, some fruit or other article of provender. This is duly handed to the bride, who by accepting it binds herself to dance with the donor. The merriment at a Magyar marriage has no limit, and some of the fun smacks decidedly of what in this country would be called "horse-play." For instance, birds with their wings sprinkled with cayenne pepper are enclosed in pie-crust, and it is regarded as excellent sport if when the pastry is opened the ineptious carver is blinded, or the rest of the company set on an endless course of sneezing.

In her new home the Magyar wife is a person of more consequence than her Slav or Croatian sister. It is true she has to work tolerably hard, but not with the unquestioning submission, the complete—almost slavish—effacement of her personality, which is the lot of the Croatian spouse. The country folk have their little difficulties, and, as we have already hinted (p. 46), sometimes their troubles culminate in brutalities. As a rule, however, the latter are confined to the degraded townspeople. The Magyar peasant is noted for the gentle way in which he treats his wife, and the endearing expressions he applies to her long after the days of the honeymoon are over. She is his "rozzam," his rose ; "csillagom," his star ; "gyöngyom," his pearl. Politeness is in truth a marked charac-

teristic of the Magyar, for even if two men meet for the first time they will speak of each other to a third person as "my elder brother," or "my young brother."

Whether the Hungarian peasant is much better off under the new than he was under the old *régime* has been often debated ; as, indeed, similar questions regarding the condition of every people who have been lifted out of one mode of life into another have always been discussed.



LIVADZELI, A MINING VILLAGE IN TRANSYLVANIA.

Serfage, it is often affirmed, existed in Hungary up to the year 1848, in a shape almost as degrading as it did in Russia. This was scarcely the case. In Hungary, the Hungarian serf never required to pay the "obrok," or annual sum which the Russian had to pay his master for the privilege of leaving his estate and seeking his fortunes elsewhere—for instance, as a domestic servant or a factory hand. In all Magyarländ the peasant, unless in the military confines, could at any time give up his holding and go where he pleased, his relations to his lord ceasing with the abandonment of his occupancy.* This privilege was accorded to

* Patterson : "The Magyars," vol. i., p. 321—2; Paget : "Hungary and Transylvania," vol. i., chap. xi.

the peasants after the decrees of the Emperor Joseph and Maria Theresa had ordered the abolition of serfdom proper, and given the peasants a certain right to their own labour. Before that date they were to all intents and purposes slaves, and as the most indubitable proof of the brutality with which they were used, they broke into revolt during the sixteenth century, and, after fearful atrocities on both sides, were crushed and rendered as much as



BOSNIAN PEASANT.

ever the servants of their liege lords. However, after the promulgation of these decrees the peasant was no longer a slave. He could—as we have seen—leave his master, provided he gave six months' notice, and establish himself on the estate of another who was more to his mind. The proprietors were also obliged to give to the peasant a certain quantity of land, in exchange for which he owed his “proprietor” so many days of labour on the roads, so many days' carting, and so many days for cutting fuel in the woods. In addition, the peasant had to attend the proprietor when he went out hunting, to pay an annual tax of a florin for each of his huts, and to furnish the kitchen of the château every year with two capons, two chickens, nineteen eggs, and five pounds of butter. In other words, a proprietor with many peasants was kept by them in domestic stores. If the “lord”

married, or one of his daughters got married, each peasant had to give 42 kreutzers—about 10½d.—and to sell the giver of the wedding feast provisions at half price. Should the proprietor be thrown into prison, the peasants were obliged to pay his ransom, and if—more fortunate—he was a member of the Diet, his dependents were called on to support their master during the time he was absent from home. The peasant had also to pay a specified amount of tribute in kind. If, for example, he was distilling plum brandy (p. 61), two florins a cask was the tax which the landowner demanded, so that after paying the ninetenth of his produce to the proprietor, and a tenth to the church, the bees, the sheep, the goats, the pigs, and the brandy were considerably reduced.

In return for these exactions, the peasant—prior to the Revolution of 1848—had the right of appealing to the Emperor, should he be condemned to death or to the rod, and had the privilege of becoming an artizan, a merchant, or a priest, and as we have seen (p. 50) of being ennobled, provided he found favour in the Kaiser's eyes. Nor was the peasant's lot altogether bad. After the country was resettled on the expulsion of the Turks, the Government took care to allot the best fields to the tax-paying peasants, reserving the ground of an inferior quality for the “nobles,” who contributed nothing to the support of the State. This, naturally, was chiefly the case in Southern Hungary, where the Turkish ravages were most marked, but even yet in the Banat land has two prices, according as it is “noble” or only peasant ground—the latter being the dearer. The Government, moreover, being extremely anxious to keep up the number of taxpayers, and the area of taxable land, regarded with judicious jealousy the conduct of the lord towards his peasantry. “He was not allowed,” writes Mr. Patterson, “to evict them except for certain definite reasons set down in the law. These copyholds were hereditary. Should, however, the copyholding family die out or be evicted, the lord was not allowed to occupy the holding himself, but was obliged to give it to another non-noble tenant. A peasant who held a whole ‘sessio’ was called a ‘whole peasant.’ This session varied in the different parts of the country from sixteen to forty *joch** of arable land, and from six to twenty-two *tagewerke* of meadow. A session might be divided into four parts, and so generally was it thus divided into quarters that a ‘quarter peasant’ may be taken as the average of his class in the better parts of the country. The same paternal interference of the authorities not only limited the subdivisions of their peasant holdings, but also restricted their accumulation. A peasant might not hold more than one session in an urbarial estate, in which the number of sessions did not exceed forty. In like proportion he might acquire two, three, and even four sessions; but four sessions was the maximum of land he was allowed by law to acquire, however large might be the urbarial (dominium) estate to which he belonged. However, as it often happened that a landlord found it difficult to get a tenant for a vacant quarter of a session, he was permitted to split it up into allotments for cottagers.” So particular were these ancient land laws that by a decree of Maria Theresa the proprietor was obliged to set fire to the roof of such urbarialists who remained in the vineyards after the vintage had been gathered in, the object of this being to check the thieving propensities with which the cottagers were credited by the people at large; but Mr. Patterson mentions that in several parts of the country these “*zsellerek*” live all the year round in the vineyards which they work.

* A “joch” is 1·43 acre; the “tagewerke”—or day's ploughing—was a somewhat variable measure.

After 1848, the peasant's copyhold tenures were converted into freeholds, the landlords being compensated out of the public treasury, though prior to that date the process had begun by the voluntary agency of the proprietors who saw that the old condition of affairs had all but run its course, and could not long be continued except at serious risk to themselves and to the State. No doubt many of the landlords suffered severely by the change, for which they were quite unprepared. Accustomed to rely on forced labour for the cultivation of their lands, these thoughtless squires had many of them neither oxen nor implements; they had not even a vague idea of what the hire of labour meant, since the rent of the copyhold tenures had for the most part been paid in ploughing, sowing, and reaping. Few of them had any capital. Most of the gentry were extravagant, and when not in debt, owing to their love of display, they had involved themselves, on account of their passion for extending their properties, by the purchase of adjoining lands. Add to this, the "patriotic loans" to which the majority had to subscribe during the war of independence—and which were of course never repaid—the military requisitions of the same period, the havoc caused by the contending armies, and, after the final defeat of the Hungarian insurgents, the fines, confiscations, imprisonments, and forced military services which fell on the unfortunate Magyar proprietor, who, to bear all this strain, had nothing to look to but the interest-bearing bonds which he had received as solatium for the surrender of his proprietary rights, and which, owing to the necessity of raising money, were hurriedly thrown into the market at a discount.

"Abitacitas" was another Hungarian institution, which was abolished by the Constitution of 1848. It was established with a view to keep up the dignity of the landed aristocracy. But the ingenuity of man never devised a plan better calculated to create uncertainty in title, and to give employment to a sharp attorney, not particular whether his practice occasionally verged on chicanery. The essential principle in this law was that the estates of the Hungarian nobles, having been granted by the Crown in perpetuity, could not be pledged for a limited period, and as no Jew was capable of acquiring real property, and the estate of a noble could be sold only to a noble, not to a peasant or burgher, the result was that land was with difficulty alienable. If the ground did eventually change hands, the heirs of the original vendor could always claim it again on paying the original price, *plus* the cost of the unexhausted improvements made on it by the capital of the possessor whom he ousted—a regulation which, to a limited extent, also prevails in Italy. Hence no man could be sure that he was not, at a moment most inconvenient for him, to be deprived of his property or involved in an interminable lawsuit. For among other terrors which surrounded a proprietor of the old school was the fear that the ancestor of some one from whom the estate had been acquired had in some way been concerned in one of the many insurrections of the seventeenth century, and had in consequence been branded with the stigma of treason, which entailed the confiscation of his property to the Crown. However, as the man in possession had the best of it, it generally took some twenty years of the law courts before the best established case could be proved; so that this flaw in the title was not very often contested.

It is undeniable that the new law conferred vast benefits both on the country and on the peasants, who by a stroke of the pen were converted into landowners. Still, some of the old school look back not exactly with longing, but with some faint

regret, on the past. They find, like the negroes in the United States, that to be lord of oneself is sometimes little better than a heritage of woe, and in any case does not confer all the benefits which they had been led to expect. When the peasants owned nothing they had nothing to lose. Their fields and houses were secure, and even in bad years the proprietor was careful that his serfs did not perish for lack of food. As



BOSNIAN PEASANT WOMAN.

a rule, the proprietor allowed his peasants to pasture their stock on his lands, and if they had any disputes he settled them by a rude, though summary decision, which, if not satisfactory to both parties, was as satisfactory as any more legal decision could be, and, in addition, was a great deal cheaper. Nowadays, be the season good or bad, the peasant must pay his taxes, and if he cannot find food enough for his cattle, he must sell them, since the State has no bowels, and the "proprietor" having no further interest in the freeholders around him, leaves them to their own devices. These devices not uncommonly land them in the hands of the Jews, from whom the thriftless farmer has borrowed enough money to buy a pair of oxen, or to settle his tithes



SHEPHERD OF THE MILITARY CONFINES.

and other taxes, so that every year ruined peasants, a sort of pariahs among their order, have to engage themselves as labourers to the great landowners, who cannot any longer be expected to regard their humble neighbours with the patriarchal solicitude of their predecessors, who knew and was concerned in the welfare of every man, woman, and child on his domain.

Be that as it may, it is affirmed that the feeling between the great landowners and the small ones is fairly good, though whether it will be so in another generation may be reasonably doubted. Already, the middle class of freeholders speak very bitterly of the dishonesty and lack of a sense of justice which pervade those immediately beneath them, and at several of the recent elections the peasants, of all men, showed themselves not insensible to the seductions of communistic agitators. It is, however, only fair to say that this is more especially true of South Hungaria, where the Wallach, or Roumanian, as he is now more generally called, is so rapidly supplanting the Magyar, that whole villages in Magyarland have become exclusively Roumanian, and where there are churches in which the Magyar service is no longer understood. Here the Magyars are getting infected with the communism of their Wallachian fellow-subjects, and it is asserted that some of the fires which are becoming so common in that part of the country are due to the mischievous spirit abroad among the peasants. "How much does it cost to build a Magyar wooden house?" a recent traveller asked a Hungarian friend with whom he was riding on the bounds of one of the vast State forests. "That depends," was the reply, "on whether the builder stole the wood himself, or only bought it of some one else who had stolen it. He might possibly have purchased the wood from the real owner, but that is not very probable. So you see, I cannot really tell you what the house will cost." What at present troubles Hungary is, however, not communism—that can never poison any large or influential section of society—but the war of races and the bitterness which the struggle amongst them for mastery excites. The Slav hates the Magyar, and both hate the German, and do their best to crush out both him and his tongue, by cultivating their own, and thus contriving, so far as railways and telegraphy will permit, to isolate their country more and more from the rest of Europe. It prevents other nations from understanding them, it limits the circulation of their literature, and confines the choice of their teachers and University Professors to men who may or may not be best suited for the tasks set them to perform. The Saxon, on the other hand, detests the Magyar and all his works, and was among the first to aid the Austrians in the war of 1848. "Nothing assimilates socially or politically in Hungary."* A Hungarian magnate, such a dignitary as we have now and then caught glimpses of in these pages, is the apotheosis of incongruity. His hospitality, like that of a certain count whose *ménage* Mr. Crosse describes, will be on so expensive a scale that his table will be ministered to by five or six cooks, and served by a little army of gorgeously-liveried lackeys. Yet the walls of

* "Crosse": "Round About the Carpathians," pp. 184, 195, 303—320; Patterson: "The Magyars," vol. i., pp. 318—328, vol. ii., p. 17; Tissot: "Unknown Hungary," vol. ii., pp. 2—6; Levy: "L'Autriche-Hongrie" (1872); Löher: "Die Magyaren und andere Ungarn" (1874); Léger: "Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie" (1875); Bright: "Hungary" (1818); "Countries of the World," Vol. VI., pp. 288—290, &c.

his dining-room may be white-washed, and the furniture a jumble of gilded Viennese chairs and the humble handiwork of the village carpenter, while the servants who wait in the evening loiter about all the morning barefooted and in the most beggarly *déshabillé*. His manners, and even his "company language," are those of Western Europe. Yet he clings to his "predicate" with singular tenacity, as something tending to mark the rank he holds in the community. For example, every Hungarian "noble," be he great or small, has three names, the first of which is the predicate, the second his surname or family, and the third his own Christian name, though, indeed, the first may be only another version of the second, *e.g.*, Kazinczi Kazinczy Ferenc, that is, Francis Kazinczy of Kazincz, the predicate, it may be remarked, not referring invariably to a place in Hungary.

Still, there are hopes for the future, since the country, if old geographically, is new so far as the modern condition of things is concerned, and when education is more widely spread, and the people have learned that it is no fault of the Jews, against whom they are so savagely incensed, that the peasant gets involved, but his own lack of providence and business capacity, then a better day will dawn for a race which, with all its faults, is among the noblest of those which Asia has bestowed on Europe.

CHAPTER III.

THE GYPSIES: THEIR ORIGIN; CHARACTER; LANGUAGE, AND CONDITION.

HITHERTO we have spoken of Asiatic folk who to the majority of our readers must always remain little more than names, since they cannot expect to make their acquaintance in their own homes; or we have concerned ourselves with races whose connection with Asia must be accepted on the basis of history which there is no confirming, or linguistic traces which only the philologist is capable of appreciating. In the present chapter we have to do with a people whose origin is perhaps as obscure as that of any of the nationalities of Europe, but in regard to whose non-European kinship there is not and can never be in the mind of any unprejudiced person a particle of doubt (Vol. IV., p. 28). We need not go far in search of these Asiatic wanderers. They may be found in almost every country in Europe, and of late years have even roamed as far as the United States and Australia. But wherever sighted, they are never to be mistaken. The most untravelled of rustics instinctively knows that the dark-skinned, black-haired, snaky-eyed, lithe vagabond whom he sights in front of a ragged tent on a common, or who camps on the roadside to boil a kettle, which it is suspected contains no poultry of his rearing, is not a child of the land in which he seems so much at home. Once seen, a typical wandering gypsy is as marked a personality in the memory as a Jew of the purer caste, or a member of any other nationality which has preserved itself as a distinct element in the population among whom he lives. His brown skin

stamps him as none of us, while his dark, glittering, serpent-like eye instinctively recalls some of the faces one meets around the London Docks, when a "P. and O." steamer has just come in. The small hands and feet seem out of keeping with the finely-proportioned, lithe, sinewy figures to which they are attached, while the aquiline nose, pearly, regular



GYPSY (ATZIGAN) OF BULGARIA.

teeth, high cheek-bones, strongly-marked brow, often knit as if in thought, and general air of secretiveness, are among the other features in gypsy physiognomy which cannot fail to strike the least observant. As a rule, the gypsies are not a tall race, though men and women of uncommon stature are frequently met with. Nor is there anything regular or conventional in their good looks, yet unquestionably in external appearance they are among the handsomest of the human family; and though their claims in this respect differ

according to the countries in which they may be found, it is impossible not to accord the young female gypsy the distinction of a beauty which is sometimes exquisite. But the beauty is short-lived. Like all Orientals, they soon fade, and are getting, so far as mere face is concerned, old people when a Northern woman is in her prime. The hard work—hard for a beauty, that is to say—the squalor of their habits, their exposure to all weathers,



YOUNG GYPSY (CINGAN) OF ESSEK, SLAVONIA.

and their unsettled, precarious—in brief, “gypsy”—life, also help to age them before years ought to tell on a healthy person. Hence, also, the revenge which Nature takes for her lavishness at the outset, in the supernatural hideousness which she often bestows on the withered gypsy crone at a period when her “Gorgio” sister is mellowing into the comeliness of ripe matronhood, or even near the fated threescore and ten. Still, after all is said in the opposite direction, the gypsy ~~must~~ indubitably bear the palm for a species of wild beauty, which is admirably set off by his often romantic surroundings—his Tartar-like encampment, his stick fire and ragged tent (which looks so well—at a distance), and the showy colours in which, like his kindred on the other side of the Himalayas, he takes so inordinate a

delight. Here, then, is a people wandering among the European nations, yet not of them—unless it be for the common origin, which we shall presently discuss—who have been known for at least eight centuries, yet who have managed to conceal many of their ways and modes of life from the inquisitive scrutiny of the hundreds who have made these aspects of their cult a part of their life's study,* who are to this day the pariahs they were in their earliest homes, who have in the course of their roamings picked up scraps of the language, religion, and civilisation of the countries they have passed through, but yet speak a tongue unintelligible to the “whites” around them, who with a few exceptions are vagabonds on the face of the earth, despising a fixed life, a roof-tree, or any of the ordinary restraints of well-ordered society, and, if we may believe those who know best, are in the majority of instances, though within the sound of church bells ringing to every type of faith, about as absolutely pagan as if they had just landed from some unvisited island in the Pacific. Who, then, are these wandering tribesmen, who must be considered before we can address ourselves to the description of the European families who have settled down into cities, formed governments, hived off colonies, and imparted to the world all that it holds most dear in letters, art, and polity?

ORIGIN.

Regarding the ethnological history of the gypsies, or gipsies (as the various names† applied to them prove), though philologists are pretty well at one in fixing the land from which they originally sprang, the most fanciful ideas were in earlier times entertained. When they first came under the notice of civilised people they were for some reason or other decided to be Egyptians, and as such were described by the earliest writers, and this name, under various forms, exists in our word gypsy, and in the designations attached to them by many other nations. As for themselves, they knew nothing about their origin, but were sharp enough to fall into the current opinion by styling themselves “Dukes of Little Egypt,” like a horde who appeared in 1418 before Zurich, assuming the rank of knights, and, among other “marks of nobility,” carrying with them sporting dogs and a good supply of money. The first notice of them which we possess, written about the year 1122, characterises them as “Ishmaelites ‡ and brasiers, who go peddling through the wide world, having neither

* More than 300 separate works have been written on the gypsies, and even this library does not include endless magazine and other articles in periodicals, or the books in which they are described indirectly. Some of this literature is of little importance; but any one who imagines that the gypsies can be exhausted in a few pages had better consult Potts's stupendous “Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien” (1844-5), or Liebich's “Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und ihrer Sprache” (1863), to be rudely undeceived.

† The Gitano or Zincali of Spain, the Jevk of Albania, the Zingani of Italy, the Pharo nepek (Pharaoh's people) of Hungary, the Tartare of Scandinavia, the Bohémions of France, the Zigeuner of Germany, the Tinkler (or Tinker) of Scotland, the Färäwni (Phoroites) of Turkey, the Cingan of Slavonia, the Cigany of Roumania, the Guphtor of Greece, the Heydens (Heathens) of Holland, and so forth. They call themselves *Rom*, that is, men, people, and their language, *Romany*. The plural of *Romi* is *Roma*, the feminine *Romni*.

‡ Still applied to them in the Danish thieves' jargon, where they are termed *Geschmeilim* (Dyrlund: “Tatare og Natsmandefolk i Danmark” [1872]), which is simply a corruption of the Hebrew *Jishmaelim*, Ishmaelites. (See an admirable article in “Chambers's Encyclopaedia,” vol. v., p. 171, and the learned contribution of Mr. Groome to the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” vol. x., p. 611, to which I must acknowledge my obligations.)

house nor home, cheating the people with their tricks, and deceiving mankind, but not openly," a description which might be fairly enough applied to their descendants who are at this moment squatted under many a hedge within the four seas. Two centuries later we find them in Hungary and Wallachia, where they have ever since thriven after the perverse fashion of their kindred, and in Cyprus, which has not proved so propitious to them. In 1346 they were in Corfu, and, without pinning our faith to the ingenious identifications which would make them to have been the soothsayers and serpent-charmers who, between 800 and 1000, were alternately in and out of favour with the Byzantine Emperors, were found in Crete twenty years earlier. Even then they were being reduced to that vassalage which until recently was their lot in several of the European States. In 1418, as we have seen, they were trying to play the big men before the burghers of Zurich. From Switzerland they passed into Italy, and in 1427 a large body of them, apparently from Bohemia—hence their popular name in France—appeared before the gates of Paris, but were refused admittance. Soon they spread into every country of the Continent, from Italy to Russia and the remotest parts of Scandinavia, everywhere following their present pursuits of fortune-tellers, tinkers, horse-dealers, and knaves generally. By 1514 we know, from a passage in More's "*Dyaloge*" (1529), that they were in England, though there is no record of how and when they landed, and in 1505 they are referred to so familiarly in the royal account of disbursements that they seem to have been in Scotland for some time.

At first these wanderers were received with great hospitality, their supposed origin and misfortunes obtaining for them an amount of sympathy of which their own roguery, rather than the knowledge of the actual state of matters, very soon deprived them. They were—so they said, or some one having said it for them, they echoed the agreeable fiction—Egyptians, 4,000 of whom, in passing through Hungary, had been compelled by the sovereign of that country to be baptised, and were condemned to seven years' wanderings, while the remainder of the travellers had been slain. Another story was that they were Egyptians, who, having been subdued by the Saracens, were forced to renounce Christianity. But having been reconquered by the Christians, they were doomed by Pope Martin V. to a penance, which consisted of wandering for the space of seven years, by which time their renunciation of the faith having been repented, they would be sent into a fine and fertile land. A third version of the cause of this vagabondage was, that they had been sentenced to roam the world for their want of hospitality to Joseph and Mary. However, if we are to credit the historians of the period, these "Egyptians" * travelled in great state, headed by "Counts" splendidly dressed, and under the command of a "Duke," who bore letters of safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. The men were on foot, and the women and children brought up the rear in waggons, while the "nobles" rode on horses well or ill come by, with dogs which it may be suspected were not invariably kept from the game of the forests through which they passed, for we are told they camped outside the walls of towns

* It seemed to have been one of the weaknesses of the mediæval historians to trace the beginnings of different races to Egypt. The Saracens, for instance, were the descendants of Sarah, by an Egyptian father; the Scots were sprung from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, and, according to Monteil, the gypsies were "seul enfants légitimes" of Abraham and Sarah.—Buckle: "History of Civilization" vol. i., p. 312.

during the night and thieved during the day, the consequence being that several were taken and slain. It would appear that then, as now, they were fond of tickling the fancy of their dupes by assuming grandiose titles—king, duke, earl, count, and vaivode. But, except that some powerful or wealthy individual managed to gain temporary or permanent control over the band with which he travelled, it is more than doubtful whether the gypsies have, or ever had, any official in the remotest way deserving these distinctions. In the newspapers we constantly hear of the death of a gypsy “King” or



THE VILLAGE OF YETHOLM.

“Queen,” and of his or her burial with pompous obsequies. The people themselves very naturally like to mystify the public by keeping up the belief in such dignitaries, and possibly having so often heard them designated by Royal titles, adopt the name and idea. Except, however, in the limited sense mentioned, there is no ground for the popular belief, though certain families, like the Faas and Blyths in Scotland, and the Stanleys and Hernes in England, having always been regarded as aristocrats among them, have sometimes been elected to a position of authority, and have even received a kind of hereditary respect, due to some traditional or other story of certain sovereigns having recognised one of their ancestors as a brother monarch. For instance, James IV. of Scotland gave, in 1550, “Anthonius Gagino, Count of Little Egypt,” a letter of commendation to

ENCAMPMENT OF GYPSIES IN SLAVONIA.



Christian III. of Denmark, while James V. granted a writ giving "oure louit Johnne Faw, lord and erle of Litill Egipt," authority to hang and otherwise discipline "all Egyptians" within the realm.* This, however, simply means that the Scottish king, like so many other people, had been deceived regarding the origin and status of the vagabonds whom he thus recognised, though it is by no means proved that any corresponding dignities were known before he thus conferred on the leading men these sweeping powers.

At first, "the Egyptians" were well received, as the facts mentioned clearly show. But their popularity was naturally of brief duration. For within a year of James V. making "Johnne Faw" and his son and successor *reges in regno*, an Act of the Scottish Parliament was passed, commanding him and his tribesmen to pass "furth the realm," under pain of death. Already, indeed, Germany, Spain, France, England, Denmark, and Moravia, had found it necessary to take similarly drastic measures, and before long a perfect hue and cry was raised all over Europe against the "unbaptised heathens," who had so recently been gulling the simple-minded Westerns with the fables about Joseph and Mary, and the Saracens. The glitter of the romance with which they had been early invested was rapidly rubbed off, after the lords and counts of Little Egypt had been convicted of harrying a succession of hen-roosts, and it was hard to preserve confidence in the penitence of a people, who, the reports of wandering peasants affirmed, had no external symbols of any religion, and lived a life about as bereft of morality as it was deficient in that virtue which then, perhaps, less than now, was rated next to godliness. Worst of all, "the Egyptians" were discovered to have none of the wealth which at first they were supposed to own, and were therefore a people who could neither be "squeezed" nor cozened. After this, we hear little about their persecution in Egypt, or of their "kings" carrying any letters, except the summary notices which were duly served on them by the constables of every district through which they passed. If they were ever credited with any good qualities their virtues were now forgotten, and charges of knavery, witchcraft, palmistry, magic, poisoning, and robbery, were proffered instead. Edicts out of number were framed for their discomfort, and no more humiliating reading exists than the different acts, decrees, and writs, which were hurled at these brown-faced wanderers, ostensibly because, in addition to being "diviners and wicked heathens," they plundered farm-yards, and had occult "trafficke with the deville." Banished, hung, burnt, murdered with impunity, wherever found, the outlawed "Egyptians" had an uncommonly bad time of it for several centuries after the halcyon times of 1500, when four gypsy chiefs were described as the "King of Rowmais," the "Erle of Grece," "King Cristall," and the "King of Cipre."

Unwittingly, however, these formal enactments aided in the dispersion of this singular people. Thus, the Norwegian Gypsies† sprang, in part at least, from those banished to that country from England, by virtue of a decree of Henry VIII., and as some were

* In Malmesbury Abbey—side by side with Athelstan—lies the body of a gypsy "King John Buckle," said to have been laid there in 1657.

† Hubert Smith: "Tent Life with English Gipsies in Norway" (1873); Sundt: "Beretning om Fante eller Landstrygerfolket i Norge" (1850—1865).

deported from this country to France during the same reign, a portion of the French *Bohémians* may be derived from Anglo-gypsy ancestors. As late as 1802, the bands roaming over Bayonne and Mauleon were caught, huddled on board a ship, and landed on the coast of Africa. In 1611 four Faas—of the family recognised by the King's grandfather as of the blood royal—were hanged in Edinburgh for no other crime than that of being “Egiptianes” and “abyding within the kingdom,” and twenty-five years later several others were pronounced on at Haddington—the birthplace of John Knox—the “men to be hangit, and the weomen to be drowned; and such of the weomen as his children to be scourgit throw the burgh and brunt in the cheeke.” At another date, Helen Faa, with fifteen other women of the “royal” kin, were condemned to be drowned; five men were executed at Durham in 1592, for “being Egyptians,” and it was not until 1783 that the statute of 1530, making the mere fact of being seen for a month in the company of gypsies felony without the benefit of clergy, was abrogated.*

The laws against them were enforced none the more mildly, since, in addition to the usual crime—which there was no denying—of being wanderers and masterless men, they were declared cannibals, kidnappers, and emissaries of the Turks. The Turk was so terrible a bugbear in Europe, that it was but natural for any race who could not be readily classed as the subjects of a Christian prince to be set down as in league with the Grand Seigneur. But the hideous imputation of their devouring human bodies could only have originated in the disordered imagination which attributed to a race which eat almost anything a capability of satisfying their appetite on what is most repulsive of all. Yet, in 1732—it would be almost incredible, did not the Jewish persecution of a later date and in the same region prepare us for believing a good deal of Magyar fanaticism—forty-five Hungarian gypsies were beheaded, and hanged and quartered on a baseless charge of this very description. The kidnapping children, though denied, as pretty well every statement for or against the gypsies has been, is much better founded.

Soon after this period, there appears to have been a tendency to treat the gypsies a trifle more mildly, though in 1748 Frederick the Great renewed the law that every gypsy beyond the age of eighteen, found within the Prussian bounds, should be hanged forthwith, and to this day it is in Germany *ipso facto* an indictable offence to be one of the prescribed “zigeuner” unless specially licensed as such. Even in Roumania—where, as we shall presently see, they swarm—the condition of serfdom to which they were reduced was not completely abrogated until 1856, though both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. tried—with very partial success—to settle them as “New Peasants” on lands specially set aside for the purpose. This more humane view of gypsydom has been generally followed, and the kindlier aspect of the State towards them has been backed by the efforts of philanthropists and the Church to redeem them from the condition of paganism in which they have so long been permitted to remain. The Romany are, however, still to a great extent what they always were. Mr. George Smith has not been very much more successful in his efforts than was Mr. Crabb, one of their earliest friends and students, the brands here and there plucked

* Groome: “In Gipsy Tents” (1880), pp. 29, 104, 116, 243, 282, &c.

from the burning, as in the long-established and Christianised village of Yetholm (p. 76), in Scotland, being the exception rather than the rule. The passion for wandering is so innate, that just as wild ducks hatched by a tame foster-mother will take to the lakes as soon as they can fly, and as a savage child brought up with civilised children craves for the scenes it never knew, so a young gypsy, even when reared away from the influence of the tents of its tribe, is apt sooner or later to "kick the traces" of



SPANISH GYPSY COOKING A MEAL.

culture, and escape to the squalor, the liberty, and the endless skirmish with society which is the normal life of its ancestral nomads.

The partial reclamation of the gypsy has no doubt been aided by the rapid enclosure of waste ground which is going on, thus leaving them, except in the wildest parts, few undisturbed camping-places, and the difficulty which good roads, a thickly populated country, railways, telegraphs, and a well-organised police, put in the way of anybody living unlawfully on his neighbour. It has also, which for our purpose is perhaps quite as important, enabled the many students of their history to collect with greater ease than formerly the few scattered and now very fragmentary data connected with their language and history. The result of these inquiries is, that though the period of the actual arrival of the gypsies in Europe is still doubtful, and is likely ever to remain so,

there can no longer be any reasonable uncertainty regarding the country from whence they came. They are not in the remotest way Egyptians,* but, like most of the European peoples, have come from Asia, though at a period, in all probability, very much more recent than



SPANISH GYPSY (GITANO).

any of the others, the Magyars alone excepted. Their face, even when, as not unfrequently happens, they have been crossed by white blood, at once stamps them as Orientals, in all likelihood of Indian connection (pp. 56, 57, 72, 73, 76, 85, 88, 89, &c.).

* There are plenty of gypsies in Egypt, where they are known as "Rhagarin," who tell fortunes, tattoo, sell small wares, and work in iron (p. 93). They are all adroit thieves, but though they call themselves "Tartars," none of

LANGUAGE.

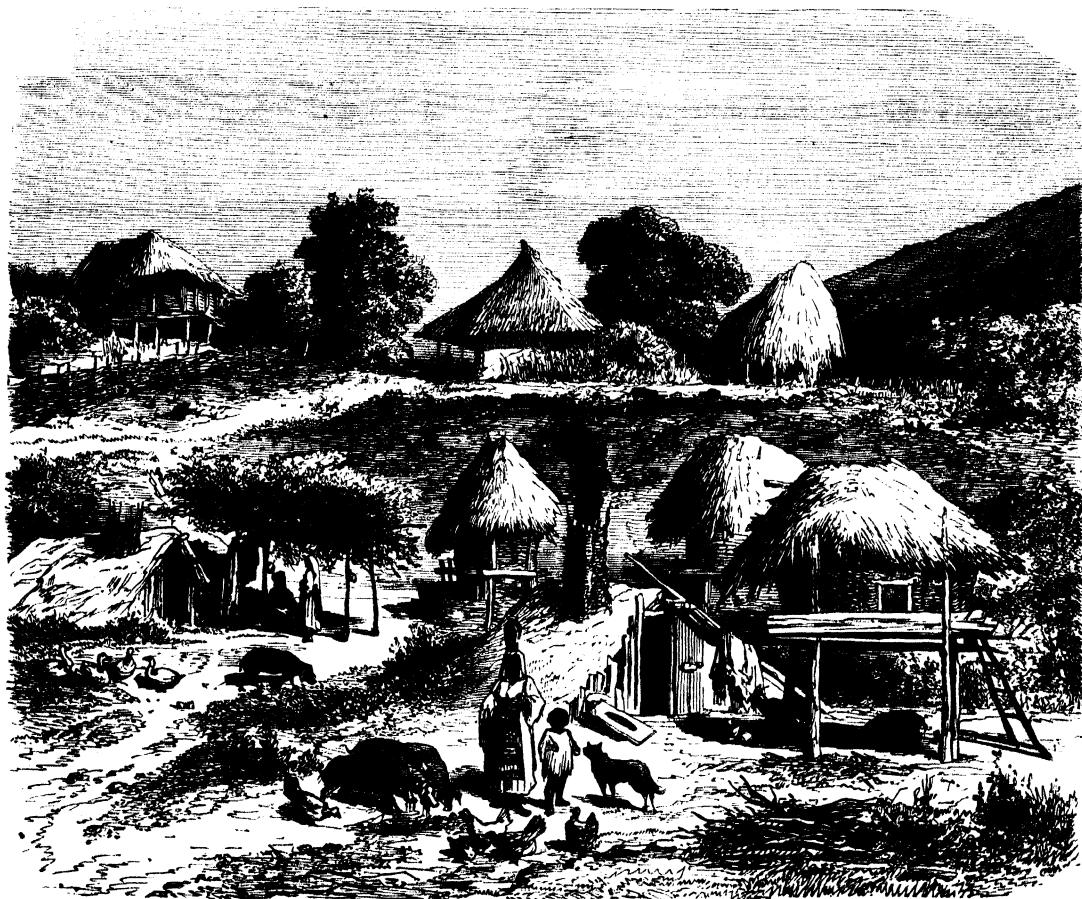
A study of their language soon confirms their Eastern origin, for though mixed with words from almost every country through which they have passed or in which they reside, and often sadly corrupted, it is an Indian dialect so marked that, as one of the most celebrated of its students remarks, it is pleasant to be able to study a Hindoo tongue without stirring out of Europe. Further, though the dialects now spoken by the various sections of the family differ so widely that they cannot mutually understand each other, the philologist has no difficulty in seeing that it is the same tongue with only local differences. What is more, the foreign words which have got incorporated into this "Romany jib" afford a curious indication of the route which these wanderers have taken in their long journey from India to Europe. For example, the Persian points to their having first entered the Land of Iran (Vol. III., p. 234); then we have Greek—the designations for 7, 8, and 9 are still unaltered Doric—bearing witness to their having passed through some Hellenic colony—Asia Minor, perhaps—while Magyar and other terms are equally sound evidence of their subsequent course through Europe. All the guesses about their being Egyptians, Nubians, Tartars, Cicilians, Mesopotamians, Ethiopians, Assyrians, Moors, Manicheans, Medians, Uzbegs, and—it is almost needless to add—the "Lost Ten Tribes of Israel," are, apart from other proofs, absolutely disproved by the absence from their language of words which can be assigned to the tongues spoken by any of those peoples. There is not one Arabic word in the extensive dictionary which has been formed of it, so that the first immigrants at the Balkan Peninsula could not have come from Egypt, as some have suggested, while the presence of Armenian terms may be accounted for on the theory of their route just mentioned. Their long residence in some Greek-speaking region is rendered all but certain by the forty-two Greek words which Miklosich traced in the Romany as spoken in Germany, the thirty in the English, and so forth. For instance—my authority is Mr. Groome—alike in Russia, Spain, England, and Hungary, gypsies call a road "drom," which is plainly the Greek *dromos*; time, "chairoς;" a horseshoe, "petal" (the Greek *petalon*); and a hat, "stadi," which is not much altered from *skiadi*. The Slavonic elements, as might have been expected, are important alloys in the original tongue, alike in the German, Spanish, and English dialects. The English Romany contains Wallachian, Magyar, German, and French words, showing that they wandered among Greeks, Slavs, Magyars, Germans, and French, before they reached our shores. Altogether, Mr. Groome thinks that the entire gypsy vocabulary extant may amount to over 5,000 words, though only a very small number is known to or habitually used by any individual gypsy, and of these a comparatively trifling percentage may be set down as pilferings from other tongues. It is essentially Indian, and, what is more, the Indian mythology can be clearly traced, that is to say, even more clearly than among the other European races of Aryan descent, in the folk-lore of this interesting people. Vishnoo is still, as he is in India (Vol. IV., p. 41),

them can speak the Romany language, and most of them profess to be good Mohammedans; Leland: "The English Gipsies," p. 192; Newbold: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xvi., p. 285; and Von Kremer: Petermann's *Geographische Mittheilungen* (1862).

the god of rain, at least so Mr. Leland, in an ingenious passage, endeavours to make out. The word "nag" (serpent) of the Hindostani is by the English gypsies applied to the blind-worm. The Hindu alphabet is called "nagari;" in gypsy "niggering" is writing. "Nill" in gipsy is evidently the Hindostani "nala" (a rivulet). The Indian "nats" are jugglers, dancers, and musicians; in Romany "nautery" means to go about with music, and so forth. Sometimes the word through time has altered its meaning. To take an example: "putti," which means in gypsy the "hub" of a wheel, is in Hindostani the spoke of the same implement. "Quasur," or "kasur," in Hindostani is flame; in English gypsy "kessur" means smoke. A gypsy talks, as does an Oriental, of his "kismit" (fate), and when he uses the word "quran" (koran) he refers to no book sacred or otherwise, but to the act of taking an oath. "Shali giv" is in Romany "small grain-corn;" in Hindostani "shali" means rice. The English gypsies call the Bible "shaster," which is simply the Hindoo "shaster," the word they use to describe their religious books. It also means (in gypsy) any written book—"any feller'sbettin'-book on the race-ground," as Mr. Leland's informant explained, "'was a shasterni lil, 'cos it's written.'" In India many sects regard a cup with singular regard. In Germany the gypsies will never touch a cup which has once fallen to the ground; ever after it is sacred. And in England many of them can never be induced to use a white bowl. The same antipathy to horseflesh is exhibited among the gypsies that several Indian tribes display, and, in brief, there can be no hesitation in accepting the generally received opinion of their comparatively recent Indian origin. "The conclusion which I have drawn from studying Anglo-Romany and the different words in India is, that the gypsies are the descendants of a vast number of Hindoos of the primitive tribes of Hindostan, who were expelled or emigrated from that country early in the fourteenth century. I believe they were chiefly of the primitive tribes, because evidence which I have given indicates that they were identical with the two castes of the Doms and Nāts, the latter being in fact, at the present day, the real gypsies of India. Other low castes and outcasts were probably included in the emigration; but I believe that future research will prove that they were all of the old stock. The forest pariahs of India may have consisted entirely of those who refused to embrace the religion of the conquerors. It has been coolly asserted by a recent writer that the gypsies are not proved to be of Hindoo origin because 'a few' 'Hindu' words are to be found in their language. What the proportion of such words really is may be ascertained from the dictionary. . . . But throwing aside all evidence afforded by language, tradition, manners and customs, one irrefragable proof still remains in the physical resemblance between gypsies all the world over and the natives of India. Even in Egypt, the country claimed by the gypsies themselves as their remote great-grandfatherland, the native gipsy is not Egyptian in his appearance, but Hindu. The peculiar brilliancy of the eye, and its expression in the Indian, is common to the gipsy, but not to the Egyptian or Arab, and every donkey-boy in Cairo knows the difference between the Rhagarin and the native as to general appearance. I have seen both Hindus in Cairo and gypsies, and the resemblance to each other is as marked as the difference from Egyptians."* The doubter to whom Mr. Leland

* Leland: "English Gipsies" (Ed. 1874), p. 133.

refers is, we take it, M. Bataillard, who, in a variety of works* more ingenious than convincing, tries to prove his theory, to the effect that the gypsies have existed in Europe from time immemorial. The grounds on which he has arrived at this conclusion is that there is no mention of their passage across the Bosphorus, that they were enslaved in Wallachia in the fourteenth century, that casual notices exist of their presence in Europe at an earlier date, and that in south-eastern Europe they still keep a monopoly of the metal-



GYPSY VILLAGE IN WALLACHIA.

lurgical arts. It may be replied that there is no more information regarding their arrival in England than there is of their arrival in Turkey, though no one on that account affects to declare that they are the aborigines of Great Britain—unless, indeed, we accept an extra-

* "Nouvelles recherches sur l'apparition des Bohémiens en Europe" (1849); "Les Origines des Tsiganes" (1875); "Les Tsiganes de l'age de Bronze" (1876); "Etat de la question de l'ancienneté des Tsiganes en Europe" (1877); "Historique et préliminaires de la Question de l'Importation du Bronze en Europe par les Tsiganes" (1876); "Les Zlotars" (1878), &c., and the article "Bohémiens" in "Dictionnaire des Sciences Anthropologiques," vol. i., pp. 187–9, which speculations are very fairly criticised by Mr. Groome in the monographs more than once referred to and quoted in these pages.



GYPSIES OF BULGARIA.

ordinary hypothesis to that effect which has lately been promulgated in two volumes octavo—and that as late as 1346 they were reduced to a state of vassalage in Corfu. There is, however, some reason to believe that they introduced the art of working bronze into Europe, since there is ground for asserting that this secret was brought from Asia. To this day the Złotars, or gypsy smiths of Eastern Galicia, work in bronze, though, if the gypsies are metallurgists of so ancient a date, it is puzzling to find that most of their terms for the metals are taken from the Greek. As far as we can make out, for this writer is a little obscure, M. Bataillard claims the Sigynnae of Herodotus as the ancestors of the gypsies, and declares that long before they appeared in Western Europe they were living in the south, and naturally also in Asia Minor.

All this is, however, little better than guesswork, and the same verdict may be passed on the theories which trace the origin of the gypsies to the Sudras, the Nāts, the Bediyas, the Doms, and the Jats (Vol. IV., p. 28), these ideas being in the main based on some real or fancied resemblance of the language and habits of the gypsies with those of the Indian tribes mentioned. Probably Mr. Leland's suggestion that they are made up of various pariah or outcast tribes is the most correct one. It is, again, hopeless to try and trace the causes which sent these wanderers into Europe. A common hypothesis is that these emigrations were started by the turmoil created by the invasions of Tamerlane (Timur Leng) towards the close of the fourteenth century, though other writers will have it that the gypsies were in Europe as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, a doctrine which entirely depends on our interpretation of the obscure references in very early writers to certain people who may or may not have been the race in question. Before leaving the subject, it may be interesting to give the Lord's Prayer in pure English gypsy—purer, I may add, than the majority of these people now speak their tongue. It is taken from Mr. Borrow's well-known work on the Spanish gypsies:—"Moro Dad, savo djives oteh drey o choros, te caumen Gorgio ta Romany chal tiro nav, te awel tiro tem, ta kairen tiro lav aukko prey puv, sar kairdros oteh drey o charos. Dey men todivvoes moro divvuskoe moro, ta for dey men pazorhus tukey sar men for-denna len pazhorrus amande; ma muck te petrenna drey caik tentaciones; ley men abri sor doschder. Tiro se o tem, mi-duvel, tiro o zoozlu vast, tiro sor koskopen drey sor cheros. Avali. Tachipen."

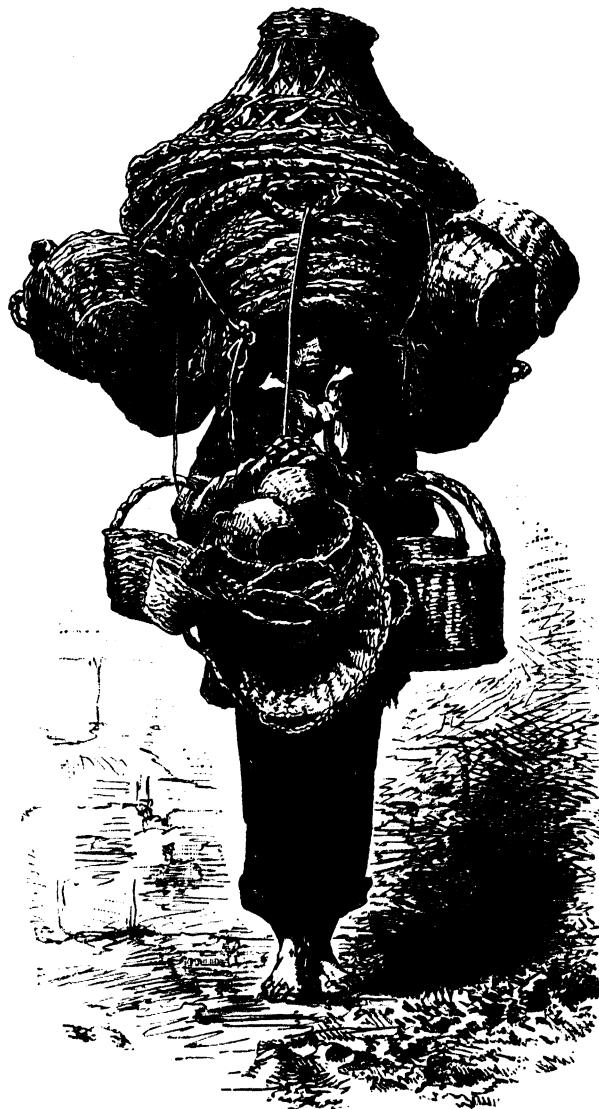
The gypsies are a singularly secretive race, and keep their language, as far as they can, concealed from those in whom they have little trust. But in course of ages, partly through intermarriage of the vagabond whites with them, or through the association of "travellers" with the real gypsies, a host of Romany words have got mixed up with our English slang. For example, "jockey" is derived from *chuckni* (a whip), jockeyism really meaning the scientific use of a whip in speeding a horse; "cove" is from *cova* (a thing), though the term is almost indefinite in its applicability; "shindy" is probably from *chin-garee*, which means the same; "chivy" is from *chiv*, one of the meanings of which is to scold; "shavers," as applied to little children, is from *shavies* (children); a "rum'un" is from *Rum* or *Rom* (a gypsy), or a man literally; "couter" (a guinea) is said to be a gypsy word in use from the earliest time, as a generic term for a gold coin; "parny" (rain) is perhaps from *panni* (water), and so forth."*

* Leland: "English Gipsies," pp. 78—100,

CHARACTER.

In regard to the disposition and traits, good and bad, of the gypsies, there is always, of course, a wide difference of opinion, according to the prejudices of the critics, the description of the individuals with whom they have come in contact, or the capability of the judges for arriving at an opinion on the subject. Gypsies are extremely unwilling to betray themselves to strangers, though, when they have confidence in any one, they are ready enough to answer questions, and as far as lies in their power to shun the ever-present temptation of "humbugging" the questioner. Among them, as among every other body of people, there are good and bad, though, as always happens when a pure- or almost pure-blooded race is concerned, it is easier to arrive at some general conclusions anent their disposition and abilities than when a mixed people is being studied. In general terms, therefore, we may say that the gypsies, though a "jumble of evil and good," have special features which can be directly indicated. Light-hearted and wonderfully courteous in their conduct towards strangers, and even towards each other, they are capable of violent passions and fiendish vindictiveness. At the same time, they are ready to forgive, their childish vanity being easily tickled by a show of affability or an approach to renewed friendship on the part of those by whom they have been offended. The war which the gypsy has for ages waged against society, and society against him, has left indelible traces on his character. To protect himself from the vengeance of the law he has recourse to that profound cunning which has grown to be with him a second nature, while the indolence which strikes the "Gorgio," who sees him asleep under a hedgerow, more so than any other characteristic, is the outcome of a life without ambition, a career without a goal. It is an article of almost universal agreement with students of "gypsyology" that if once a gypsy passes his word he will keep it, and that they have preserved through many centuries the old Oriental, or rather the general vagabond idea of inviolate honour towards the wayfarer within their tents. The children receive scarcely any training; yet no people are kinder to their old parents and relatives than the gypsies. The jetsam and flotsam of society, they find that unless they tie very tightly the bonds which unite them, they will be powerless to hold their own. Hence, perhaps, the warm family affection which distinguishes these nomads. A parent never chastises a young child, yet it is quite common, as Mr. Groome remarks, for a grown up son to meekly accept a thrashing from his aged father. A gypsy entertains no scruples regarding the method in which he supplies his larder, or, indeed, as to how he acquires property. But he will just as readily part with what he has to a friend in worse case than himself. "I have found them," writes Mr. Leland, "more cheerful, polite, and grateful than the lower orders of other races in Europe or America, and I believe that when their respect and sympathy are secured they are quite as upright. Like all people who are regarded as outcasts, they are very proud of being trusted, and under this influence will commit the most daring acts of honesty." There is in all Europe no more independent man than the gypsy. He eats everything that is edible, except horseflesh, and sleeps wherever he lights on a spot well sheltered from the wind, and tolerably safe from the only appanage of society which he dreads—the policeman, to wit. He has, moreover, a tact and a delicacy which many in far loftier stations might well imitate, a love of nature, which makes his life to him a pleasure,

and an affection for the wild things around him, which is revealed by the number of pets fattening on his bounty. But morals of the conventional sort the Rom has none. "The gypsies," it was a remark of Krantz more than three and a half centuries ago, "frequently



FRENCH GYPSY (BOHÉMIEN).

change their horses." They do so still. They deal in and steal horses all over Europe; tell fortunes when they can discover any one credulous enough to believe them, mend pots and pans ostensibly, and clear hen-roosts and clothes-covered hedges whenever a chance presents itself. Their ideas of right and wrong were always calculated from their own meridian, and since they have been driven, by the enclosure of commons and other waste places, into the suburbs of towns, they have not improved in good behaviour. At the same time, the



GYPSIES OF BOHEMIA.

most disreputable of the rabble who live in the vicinity of London, and, to go to the other end of the kingdom, who live more like savages than civilised beings in the caves near Wick,

are for the most part what are known as "half-scraggs," that is, the descendants of the vagabond whites who have intermarried with the gypsies, and in part, at least, followed their ways of life.

Of religion they have little. "The gypsies' church," they are in the habit of saying, "was made of pork, and the dogs stole it." Where the absolute non-observance of the forms of any creed entails no difficulty, the gypsies are usually untroubled by a regard for the faith of the country in which they live. If, on the other hand, they find it to their profit to profess a belief in some religion, they will never hesitate to pick up as much of it as suits their convenience, their wonderful art of conforming themselves to the ways of the particular community into which they are thrown here serving them in good stead. Hence any formal account of their creed must apply only to particular individuals, and be criticised adversely as to its accuracy or otherwise according as the reader's experience may or may not tally with the writer's.* Here and there may be detected, mixed up with endless superstitions and crude bits of Christianity, fragments of nature-worship and very early paganism, though how far serpent-worship, and the adoration of a moon-god, which Sundt fancied he discovered among the gypsies of Norway, exist in reality, or in the too easy conclusions of a student bent on finding something, it is scarcely worth discussing in this place. The three great gypsy clans of Germany, according to Liebich, worship the fir, the birch, and the hawthorn, and the Welsh Romany, certain fasciated growths in trees. The "Pharaoh people" of Turkey keep a fire continually burning, and on the first of May they all go to the sea-coast or the banks of a river, where they thrice throw water on their temples, "invoking the invisible genii loci to grant them special wishes." Another custom observed with equal consistency is that of annually drinking some potion, the secret of whose preparation is known only to the wisest and oldest of the tribe. This drink is said to render them invulnerable to snake-bites, and certainly, for whatever reason, the "Chinguins," as they are also called, catch serpents and handle them with an impunity which is not vouchsafed to any persons not of the gypsy race.† It is not improbable, as Mr. Leland suggests, that the race before leaving India were wandering pariahs, outcast foes to Brahminism, and unbelievers, and that what they have picked up since is more or less exotic. They have scarcely any idea of a future state, the only trace of such a belief which Liebich ever detected being in a gypsy crone, who dreamed that she was in heaven, which to her appeared to be a very large garden full of fine fat hedgehogs, the dainty which of all others Romany gourmands most esteem. In Scandinavia, according to Sundt, who spent years in studying the vagabonds of the North, the gypsies assemble once a year, and always at night, for the purpose of unbaptising all of their children who during the year have been baptised by the Gorgios, or whites. On this occasion the parents, whose acquiescence in the Christian rite has been obtained by the persuasive power of gifts,

* The author may perhaps be allowed to say that while in this brief sketch he has drawn as freely as the limits of it will admit on the researches of such writers as Leland, Groome, Simson, Pott, and others quoted, he has from very early life been familiarly acquainted with various gypsy tribes, and, in addition, had the advantage of often comparing his limited experience with the far wider and more accurate information of his lamented friend and colleague, the late Professor Edward Palmer, of Cambridge, whose untimely death deprived the world of one of its most accomplished scholars.

† "The People of Turkey," by a Consul's Wife and Daughter (Mrs. Blunt), vol. i., p. 160.

worship a small idol, which is preserved until the next meeting with the greatest care and secrecy. This is an admirable tale, but, like many others in circulation regarding the gypsies, had better be accepted with considerable caution. It would argue for the gypsy the possession of a keen moral sense—the terror that the baptism was dreadfully wrong. Now, this is just what the Indian nomad does not possess. He is indifferent. His moral sense is formed by custom, and morality is, after all, whatever the philosophers may say, a something very much of latitude and longitude. What is a fearful crime in one section of human society is a virtue in another a few degrees farther north or south. A Dyak is, or was, ineligible for the humble position of a prospective husband until he had decapitated a fellow-man; in England we should have hanged him. The civilised father is overwhelmed with sorrow when his boy is detected pilfering other men's property. An Apache parent thanks all the heaven he knows of that the lad who has managed to steal a horse before he was ready to take a wife promises to prove a comfort to his old age. It is so with the gypsy. Ever poor, often hungry, always hated, it seems to him the most natural thing in the world that he should grow moderately well to do, and satisfy his appetite at the expense of those who, in his eyes, are burdened with superfluities. He knows that it is against the law, for there are legends ever present to his memory and experience which tell of the policeman's illiberal ways. But as for any moral crime, that is an aspect of the affair on which the gypsy has never been taught to reflect. But there is no human being—no matter what ill-informed travellers may say to the contrary—who is entirely without religion, and the gypsy is no exception to the rule. His feelings of that description find vent in an inordinate respect for the dead, an outcome, it may be, of the intense love he bears his kindred when alive. The corpse is waked, and the effects of the deceased person burned. There is even a kind of fasting observed, and what is in the nature of it not widely different from the *taboo* of the Polynesians and other tribes (Vol. II., p. 47). In the "Annual Register" for 1773 we read that "the clothes of the late Diana Boswell, queen of the gypsies, value £50, were burnt in the Mint, Southwark, by her principal courtiers, according to ancient custom," and to this day the same rite is observed on the death of any of the tribe, though most probably this is one of the ancient rites which are on the wane, and will in time disappear. Already we have seen (Vol. I., p. 94) that certain tribes of North American Indians adopt the same plan, and probably for the same reason, namely, to put out of sight anything which might recall the memory of the dead person, or tempt them to pronounce his or her name. In England a gypsy will—it is needless adding, with wondrous self-denial—often abstain from spirits for years, because a brother now dead was fond of liquor, or will abandon some favourite pursuit by reason of the fact that the deceased when last in his company was engaged in this business or pastime. Again, a wife or child will often renounce the delicacy most liked by the dead husband or father. They will never mention the dead one's name, and if any of the survivors happen to bear one of the names they will change it for another less apt to recall the loved one. A gypsy declined a cigar offered to him by Mr. Leland because in the pockets of his nephew some cigars were found after his death. The same man ceased using snuff after his wife's death. "Some men"—the language is the gypsies'—"won't eat meat because the brother or sister that died was fond of it; some won't drink ale for five or six years; some won't eat the

favourite fish that the child ate; some won't eat potatoes, or drink milk, or eat apples, and all for the dead. Some won't play cards or the fiddle—"that's my poor boy's tune"—and some won't dance. 'No, I can't dance; the last time I danced was with poor wife that's been dead this four years.' 'Come, brother, let's go and have a drop of ale' (the fiddler is there). 'No, brother, I never drank a drop of ale since my aunt went.' 'Well, take some tobacco, brother?' 'No, no; I have not smoked since my wife fell in the water, and never came out again alive.' 'Well, let's go and play at cock-shy; we two 'll play you two for a pint o' ale.' 'No, I never played at cock-shy since my father died; the last time I played was with him.' And Lena, the wife of my nephew Job, never ate plums after her husband died." This is Oriental entirely; but in Germany, where the gypsies are even nearer akin to the primitive conditions of the race than in England, the respect for the dead is even more sacred. "By my father's head!" is a very binding oath, but to swear by "the dead" is even more so. Even in England a gypsy who declares that he will do anything—"mullo juvo"—by his dead wife is pretty sure to keep his word, though he never heard of the Bible, and regards the founder of our faith only in the light of something to lend strength to an affirmation. In Germany it is said that when a maiden called Forella died, her entire nation ceased designating the trout by its old name of Forelle, but by one signifying the red fish. In England this rule is very generally observed, though it is not universal. At one time—here again is a custom which we have often before come across (Vol. I., p. 94, for example)—they put new shoes, and even money, in the coffin with the corpse, or deck the body with gay clothes and ornaments of value. In the course of their wanderings the gypsies have, as might have been expected, picked up a good many snatches of the Christian religion. For instance, some of them burn an ash fire on Christmas Day in honour of Christ, "because He was born and lived like a gypsy," and there have not been wanting many cases of undoubted conversion to Christianity among a race who, as a rule, are entirely ignorant of, and totally indifferent to, religion. Among other of their superstitious scruples is a dislike to wash a table-cloth with other clothes. A German gypsy woman must not cook for four months after the birth of a child, and any vessel touched by a woman's skirt is defiled, while one of their most widespread and most Indian practices is to leave at a corner road a handful of leaves or grass, or a heap of stones or sticks, to guide any of the band who may follow up.

Gypsy marriages have been often described with a detail into which we cannot follow the writers. We may, however, say that in Germany one of the most general features of the ceremony is the breaking of a pitcher, and then to augur from the number of fragments regarding the future fortunes of the bridal pair.*

Though until lately almost entirely without school learning—the civilised gypsies of Yetholm are of course excepted—they are far from being a dull or unreceptive race. Many of them are people of great natural shrewdness, though, except as musicians, few of the race have ever attained to much celebrity. As Liszt has shown, the Hungarians owe their

* Bright: "Hungary" (1818); Borrow: "Lavengro" (1851) and "Zincali" (1841); Hoyland: "Historical Survey" (1816); Simson: "History of the Gipsies" (1865); Roberts: "The Gypsies" (1836); Groome: "In Gipsy Tents" (1880), and the article already so frequently referred to, in addition to a series of letters in the *Standard* (London), August 15, 16, 17, et seq. (1879).



GYPSY WOMAN OR GHAWAZEE (DANCING GIRL), FROM UPPER EGYPT.

national music to the Zigani. Many of them display considerable skill as metal workers, and one or two have developed talents of a certain kind as Methodist preachers. The late Rev. Dr. Gordon, a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, was always understood to be of pure gypsy stock, and it is contended by Mr. Simson that Mrs. Carlyle was of the Romany race, though her blood was diluted by a great deal of Gorgio intermixture. He will even boast that Lord Jeffrey and Christopher North (Professor John Wilson) were of the wandering folk. And it has long been affirmed, though the assertion has been stoutly disputed, that a greater than any one of these, viz., John Bunyan, belonged to the gypsy stock.

It is, however, unquestionable that there is a great deal more gypsy blood in what are usually set down as white veins than is generally supposed. Mr. Simson rather startles us by his estimate of there being—he wrote in 1865—not less than 250,000 gypsies of all castes, colours, characters, occupations, degrees of education, culture, and position in life in the British Isles alone, “and possibly double that number,” since, according to the usual calculation, the pure-blood stock do not exceed 18,000, the chief families being the so-called “Royal” Lees, the Stanleys, the Coopers, Smiths, Lovells, and so forth. Many are leaving England, driven by the enclosures of waste land over the sea to that paradise of the nomad, America. But if the main current of the gypsy race is contracting, the back waters are broadening. Half of the tramps, the “travellers,” as they are called, of England, are tinctured with Romany blood. These “half-scrags” are an ever-increasing class. They are tramps and beggars, proprietors of travelling shows, horse-dealers, tinkers, cheap Jacks, “Punches,” fiddlers, pottery dealers, sellers of skewers and clothes-pegs, basket-sellers out of a caravan, keepers of Aunt Sallies and cock-shys at races. All, though unsuspected of the whites around them, are perfectly well known to each other, and the majority understand, and with more or less accuracy speak among themselves, that ancient Sanscrit, or “elder vagabond sister or cousin” of that language, which we have seen is the birthright of the race. “The hawker whom you meet,” Mr. Leland remarks when discussing this fact, “and whose blue eye and light hair indicate no trace of Oriental blood, may not be a ‘churdo’ or ‘pash-ratt,’ or even a ‘half-scrag,’ as a full gypsy might contemptuously term him, but he may be of his kind a Quadroon or Octoroon, or he may have ‘gypsified’ by marrying a gypsy wife!” and by the way, be it said, such women make by far the best wives to be found among English itinerants, and the best suited for a “traveller.” But in any case he has taken pains to pick up all the gypsy he can. If he is a tinker, he knows “kennick,” or cant, or thieves’ slang by nature; but the Romany, which has very few words in common with the former, is the true language of the “mysteries;” in fact, it has with him become, strangely enough, what it was originally, a sort of sacred Sanscrit, known only to the Brahmins of the road, compared with which the other language is only commonplace “Prakrit,” which anybody may acquire. He is proud of his knowledge; he makes of it a deep mystery; and if you, a gentleman, ask him about it, he will probably deny that he ever heard of its existence. Should he be very thirsty, and your manners frank and assuring, it is, however, not impossible, that after draining a pot of beer at your expense, he may recall, with a grin, the fact that he *has* heard that the gypsies have a queer kind of language of their own; and then, if you have any Romany at command, he will perhaps “ràkker Rommanis” with greater or less fluency. When a

gypsy manages—which is not so rare as one might imagine—to raise himself above the road, he immediately desires to ignore his race. Even in America there were plenty of gypsies long before the recent emigration began, for in early times hundreds of them were transported to the plantations for very slight offences, and even for no other crime than the fact of their being of the banned blood of the “ Egypcians.” In England the number of house-dwelling gypsies is on the increase, but it is rare to find any who have for two generations ceased to find shelter under tents, or who do not at intervals take to their old kind of life. The gypsy has nowhere nowadays a distinctive dress. But he or she can generally be picked out in a crowd by reason of the gay colours so loved by the race, and the massive rings on the women’s fingers. In some parts of the Continent the women wear a peculiar pattern of earrings, and in Hungary the male gypsy is fond of decking his coat with silver buttons bearing a serpent for a crest. In old times—I have not heard of such eccentricities of late years—the English gypsy would often sink his available capital in sewing spade guineas or crown pieces on the coat he wore at races. In the country the gypsy follows nearly all callings, from those of chimney-sweeps and factory hands, to those of actors and quack doctors. But as tinkers, or workers in metal, horse-dealers, makers of baskets, brooms, and clothes-pegs, and pottery sellers, they are pre-eminent. The Calderari, or copper-smiths of Hungary, travel all over Europe, and will sometimes reach as far as Algeria. In Transylvania they are well known as gold workers, and no tourist who has ever visited the Alhambra but must remember the gypsy smiths whose anvils were placed in the caves of Granada. Altogether, Mr. Simson thinks that there cannot be much fewer than 4,000,000 gypsies in existence. If pure bloods are intended, this estimate is, we fancy, considerably over the mark, since Von Miklosich puts the number at somewhere in the vicinity of 700,000; though, again, the recent census of Great Britain is valueless as an aid to obtaining their numbers in our islands, since, for obvious reasons, few people care to be classed as “ vagrants,” and it is not always in the power of the enumerator to serve his schedules on the wandering gypsies, while the house-dwelling population are entirely excluded from the returns.

CONDITION.

After what has been already said regarding the condition of the European gypsies generally, it is unnecessary to describe with any minuteness the tribes as they exist in every Continental country. In South-Eastern Europe, not only because these regions are nearest Asia, but on account of their wildness and comparative immunity from the all-pervading policeman of the West, the gypsy may be found at once in his most primitive and his most degraded condition.

In Turkey* the “ Chinguin ” (or Tchinghiani), as they are called in common parlance, were at one time reckoned at 200,000, and are divided into those who wander about the country, living all the year round in the open air or in tents, and the smaller, but hardly less degraded section, who for a part at least of every year take up their abode

* Paspati: “ *Etudes sur les Tchinghianes* ” (1870).

in towns or villages. But wherever found, the Turkish gypsy is one of the vilest of his race. Thievish, cowardly, idle, false, and treacherous, there is nothing to be made of this people, for even when they rob it is only to supply present necessities; the accumulation of property has no part in their social system. The men follow the usual gypsy crafts, but as agricultural labourers they are useless, except in ditching, an art in which, curiously enough, they excel. Many of them are fine athletic-looking specimens of manhood, and the women, when young, are, as gypsies often are, very beautiful, though, when past middle life, they are hideous beyond imagination, and then endeavour to make capital out of their repulsive appearance by affecting to be witches and fortune-tellers. The young ones are admirable dancers, and in this capacity are held in esteem by the wealthy Turks, their utter absence of decency rendering them still more acceptable to their dissolute employers. Murad IV. tried to wean the gypsies from their nomadic habits by ordering that they should be permanently settled in the vicinity of the Balkans, and obliged to lead a regular life. The Sultan, however, ordered all in vain. For soon they dispersed all over the country, ready to pounce on whatever they could find. In the towns they appear, externally at least, to be a trifle more respectable than in the country, and manage to dress in a few tatters instead of the nakedness which is the common garb of the young people, and almost universally of the children even in the depth of winter. Education they have none. A Turkish gypsy who can either read or write is, perhaps, unknown. But the majority profess to be good Moslems, though they so habitually disregard the cardinal precepts of the faith that the Turks object to their praying in the same mosque, burying their dead in the same cemetery, or sharing in those alms which the Mohammedan distributes so liberally to the sick and needy of his creed. Some of them, however, prefer to be Christians, though, by general consent, the Christian gypsy is, if anything, a worse specimen than the Moslem one. They usually intermarry among their own people, though now and then it will happen that a Christian gypsy will wed a Christian Turk, or a Mohammedan one a peasant woman belonging to a different race from his own. A gypsy is, nevertheless, despised wherever found, owing to his vile habits and loose conduct. In their utter thriftlessness they present a striking contrast to the rest of the people. No gypsy thinks of the morrow. He loves poultry so dearly that a goose is to him quite irresistible. Indeed, according to Colonel Baker, he is often to be tracked by the feathers which he has tossed aside like the "hare" in a paper chase. Yet he never dreams of keeping geese for himself. This would demand a little foresight, and a comparatively sedentary life, which are both abhorrent to the nature of the "Chinguin," who is never wealthy, and is generally in debt, and if the law was not so easy as it is in Turkey, would be much more frequently in jail than he is.*

In Bosnia the gypsies number something over 12,000, and as in Turkey are a roving class, living under ragged tents even in the most severe weather, pilfering wherever they can, and oftentimes contributing of their number to those gangs of brigands who, before the Austrian occupation, were found in such numbers in that province. A few have settled in villages, and call themselves blacksmiths or gunsmiths, and prefer to be Mohammedans, Christians, or Greeks, just as best suits their interests; but everywhere they are regarded

* The gypsies of Turkey in Europe proper do not, since the dismemberment of the Empire, number more than 10,000. In Cyprus, according to the census of 1881, there were only fifteen people classed as gypsies ("Kilindjirides").



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with such contempt that nothing could persuade a Bosnian to sit down at the same table with a gypsy. When young, the women are often pretty, and, as in Turkey proper, are in great request as dancing girls. For a long time the gypsies were the only people who worked the rich mines of Bosnia. This they accomplished by the primitively simple process of dragging a fleece of wool in the bed of the torrents, and then picking out the many spangles of gold which they found entangled so abundantly among the wool.



YOUNG GYPSY GIRL OF ESSEK, SLAVONIA.

In Hungary we have already met with the Zigani (or, to use another spelling, Czigany) as the musician of the country. Here he is, if anything, a trifle superior to his kindred farther east, though his morals and the morals of his womankind will scarcely admit of being ranked many grades above those of the Turkish gypsies. They are still vagabonds, dwelling in tents or little houses outside of the Magyar villages, or in hollows in the clay banks, like the caves of the Troglodytes. These rude habitations are, however, only for winter use. In the summer they may be generally found on the tramp, and, as M. Tissot tells us, the gypsy huts will sometimes remain shut up for years together, until one day a blue and diaphanous smoke may be seen issuing from the open door, little

naked, copper-coloured children playing with a large wolfish dog, a man unloading a cart yoked to two weedy horses, and a ragged woman, with a pipe in her mouth, going with an old tub to draw water from the well. Then the neighbours know that the Zigani family have returned. But by-and-by the small house is closed again, and the birds of passage have gone—no man knows where, and few men care. The gypsy's *ménage* is simple. Furniture he has none, and an earthenware pot is the principal cooking utensil which he requires. Potatoes, milk, and bacon form his ordinary diet when leading a sedentary life. But hedgehogs, foxes, squirrels, and cats do not come amiss to this nomad, who is the only person who knows how to cook these dubious dainties to perfection. Nor is he too disdainful to devour animals which have died a natural death, and when a fire has occurred anywhere the gypsy hastens to possess himself of the beasts buried in the *débris*. Men and women dress sparingly. Indeed, up to the age of twelve or fifteen, the boys wear hardly any clothing, and then their great desire is to obtain a suit of cast-off Hungarian clothes, the showier the better; an old red cassock is an entire wardrobe to the happy owner.

In Hungary there are, according to a rough estimate, about 150,000 gypsies—vagabonds who wander about the country with their carts and horses, accompanied by their women and children, and though at one time persecuted as unbelievers, and hunted to death as sorcerers and poisoners, the cruel edicts which enjoined such treatment were never sympathised in by the Hungarian people. The result is, that the gypsies have increased, and, in their own thriftless, squalid fashion, prospered, despite the hard usage they have experienced at the hands of their rulers. Indeed, as we have seen, the Hungarian kings have more than once protected them as a “poor wandering people without a country, and whom all the world rejected,” and granted them safe conducts to go wherever seemed good to them, with their troops of donkeys and horses. Joseph II. of Austria (p. 79) tried to settle them as agriculturists, and had huts built for them. But instead of occupying the comfortable dwellings themselves they stabled their cattle in them, and pitched their tents outside. Then to prevent their corn from sprouting they boiled it before sowing, and though their children were taken from them and trained up into habits of work under Magyar and German peasants, these wildlings soon escaped and joined their parents, without having learned anything from their forcible apprenticeship to civilisation. It is affirmed that a gypsy, who had actually risen to the rank of an officer in the Austrian army, disappeared one day, and was found six months afterwards with a band of Zigani encamped on the heath. A young Slovack peasant fell in love with and married a gypsy girl, but in his absence she escaped to the woods, and when discovered was sleeping under the skies, and feeding on hedgehogs after the fashion of the race from whom she had been taken. The Abbé Liszt, charmed with the talent for music displayed by a gypsy boy, took him to Paris and tried to train the little lad. But all in vain. The moment he saw his own people in Vienna his delight was indescribable; there was no longer any hope of keeping him under the restraint of polite life. A similar series of anecdotes might be easily gleaned from the history of the American Indians, the Tasmanians, the Australians, and other savage races, members of whose tribes have on more than one occasion been well taught, and even attained a distinguished position in the circle in which they had been

reared, and yet, when they had seemingly forgotten their people, have suddenly stripped themselves of the exotic culture and escaped to their barbarous kindred. Like all their kindred, the Hungarian gypsy has a horror of restraint and of continuous labour. His vocabulary contains no word signifying "to dwell." Hence he follows any trade which admits of his wandering about the country—farriers, nail-makers, horse-dealers (and horse-stealers), bear-tamers, and beggars. In the last capacity the Zigani are irrepressible. Time to them is no object. They will follow the traveller for half an hour, pouring forth their whine in fluent Magyar or gypsy until a piece of money is thrown to them, and then they will whine again to the next likely passer-by. Why not? is the gypsy mendicant's excuse. Is not he "Tscherelo Rom" (the "poor man")? Indeed, so deeply rooted is this love of mendicity that it is nothing uncommon for gypsies wearing gold chains and rings, carrying gold-headed canes, and leading race-horses, to hold out their hands for alms to the whites whom they meet. No people are more skilful as horse-dealers. In truth, so skilful are they, that Joseph II., who occupied a good deal of his time in devising means for the reformation of this section of his subjects, absolutely forbade them to trade in a species of merchandise which gave them an undue advantage over their neighbours, and put temptation in the Zigani's way of which he was in no way backward to avail himself. The women, like their sisters everywhere, tell fortunes, sell charms, ply the trade of jugglers and dancers, and, it is said, not without truth, act as go-betweens and supply poisons (p. 55). The country people have still a firm belief in their proficiency in these respects, and will tell how by magic formulæ they have extinguished fires, preserved horses from the flames, discovered hidden treasures, springs of water hitherto unsuspected, and cured diseases which have defied the regular faculty. It may be added that, though the very contrary has been asserted, the morals of the women are, if possible, worse than those of the men. Among the gypsies, however, as among the people of every other race, exceptions are occasionally found which prove the rule. The rule is that they are vagabonds. The exceptions are the few who in Transylvania carry on the trades of wood-carvers, brush-makers, tile-makers, rope-makers, ropers, chimney-sweeps, gold-workers, dentists, and musicians—as they all are more or less (p. 55), not to mention the Zigani who are always ready to perform the hideous function of the public executioner. "Five florins for hanging a man!" a gypsy is said to have exclaimed when he was offered this fee for his services. "Why, I would hang all those gentlemen," pointing to the judges, "for that sum of money!" One or two Zigani have tried their hand at play-writing and acting, and now and then may be met a gypsy marionette manager, or even a comedian of the race. In Hungary they can hardly be said to profess any regular religion. They are not even pagans, for they worship nothing, though everywhere they show great respect for the dead, never passing a grave of their relatives without pouring on it a few drops of beer, wine, or brandy. They adopt any religion which promises most profit or the greatest immunity from discomfort. Hence it will sometimes happen that the children of a wandering gypsy will be baptised four or five times, and be quite ready, so far as their parents are concerned, to be baptised a fifth if the nomad happen to come into a region where religious fervour runs high. In Hungary their life is, perhaps, happier than in most continental countries, though, if we are to believe certain writers, the dialect spoken

there contains no words to express joy, happiness, or even riches, though there are terms signifying mourning, pain, fear, and grief. How far they acknowledge any head nowadays has been disputed. At one time they were governed by four "voïvodes," or chiefs, who were elected by universal suffrage, and proclaimed amid music and applause (p. 76). A three-cornered braided hat was placed on the chief's head, and a pitcher of wine on a plate covered with flowers presented to him. This he drained at a draught, and then broke the flask in pieces,



SLAVONIAN GYPSY.

after which he harangued the assembly, and shook hands with each of his subjects in turn. Every seven years the people gathered round the supreme chief to receive his orders, and those washing the auriferous sands of the Transylvanian rivers, whatever might have been the habit of the others, paid a florin per annum to the voïvode under whom they worked. But in these days the chief exercises little, if any, visible authority.* In Hungary, as in England, the policeman has long since replaced this gypsy sovereign with the power of life and death over his constituents. At present they are subject to military conscription

* Charnock: "The Peoples of Transylvania" (*Transactions of the Anthropological Society of London*, May, 1866).



GYPSY WOMEN OF SLAVONIA ASKING ALMS.

in all the countries in which they have settled. Even in Turkey during the last war they were hustled into the ranks, but though they displayed on the march a great deal of military ardour, they proved utterly useless when the time came for them to coin their patriotic ardour into blows. The same weakness is true of the gypsy soldier everywhere. He makes a bad member of the rank and file, but his courage, his agility, fineness of eyesight, sharpness of ear, habits of observation, good memory, knowledge of locality, all combine to render him an admirable spy. It is, however, only fair to say that it is more their invincible dislike of restraint than lack of courage which make the gypsy soldiers of little account. During the Hungarian wars they often fought well, and in 1557 they were entrusted with the defence of the castle of Nagy-Ida, soon afterwards besieged by the Turks. So well did they acquit themselves of this duty that the Turks withdrew. However, in the intoxication of their triumph, the gypsy defenders could not resist the temptation to shout after the retreating enemy, "Ah! if we had not been out of gunpowder you should not have been let off so easily!" The Turks, hearing this, turned back, and resuming the offensive, massacred the garrison to the number of one thousand, an event still celebrated among them. In their fury they will sometimes have general fights, in which men, women, children, and dogs join, and duels in which two naked youths will fight with great determination. Yet, despite all their misery, M. Tissot tells us that the only instance of a gypsy ever wishing to commit suicide was that of an old woman, who, to escape her persecutors, begged a shepherd to bury her alive. They exemplify the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." A weakling soon perishes during the life of hardship which he must endure, but the strong survive to become the fine specimens of humanity which are seen among them. Epidemics pass over them scatheless. Gout and rheumatism are to them unknown maladies. Their wounds heal with unexampled rapidity, and if perchance disease does attack them, brandy, onions, and saffron are the only medicines which they tolerate. In short, their life is an animal one—tobacco, brandy, food, and sleep sum up its beginning and end. A gypsy condemned to be hanged will always ask as a last favour to be allowed a smoke, and a pipe is, perhaps, the first thing which is put into a child's mouth after it is weaned. Hitherto the gypsies have been denied the suffrage, though this cannot long be refused to so numerous a people.

Roumania is, however, the real home of the Continental gypsy, for there he numbers, according to different estimates, from 130,000 to 300,000, in spite of the fact that until recently he was a mere serf, bought and sold with the land on which he squatted. They were nominally free in 1848; though it was not for eight years after this that the Zigani could be said to be absolutely beyond the power of their former owners, and as late as 1845 the following advertisement appeared in a Bucharest newspaper:—"The sons and heirs of the late Sirdar Nicka of Bucharest will expose for sale 200 gypsy families. The men exercise the trades of locksmiths, goldsmiths, shoemakers, musicians, and farm labourers. Not less than four families will be sold in one lot. As a set-off, the price asked is a ducat cheaper than the ordinary figure. Facilities for payment." In 1825, Mr. Walsh tells us, if a gypsy belonging to a Boyard, or noble, was killed by his master, no notice was taken of the circumstance, but if the murder was committed by a stranger a fine of eighty florins was exacted. Slight faults were punished by the bastinado applied

to the soles of the feet, or by the application of an iron mask, in which the head was shut up for a longer or shorter period, preventing the offender from eating or drinking. Those who had committed theft were fastened by the neck and arms to a plank, which they carried on their shoulders in the fashion of the Chinese cangue (Vol. IV., p. 181). They are still the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. All rough, unpleasant work is allotted to them. The gypsies—men, women, and children—are the drudges who carry bricks and mortar to the masons, meantime cooking and sleeping in the building on which they are at work, their main food being mamaliga, or maize-meal, boiled and seasoned with salt. Or, as in other countries, they mend pots and kettles, shoe horses, or play the medola. But though the tawny face of the Frenchified Roumanian bears distinct evidence that his forefathers were not so callous to the charms of the lithe young gypsy, the so-called whites affect an unutterable scorn for the Zigani, ranking them as little better than the lower animals and, as in Servia, compelling them to accord the most abject respect to their "superiors." The result is that though the gypsy mothers, for the sake of the presents they receive from the kindly godfathers and godmothers of their tawny brats, permit their offspring to be baptised into the Greek Church, the race are in reality little different from pagans. Some ethnologists profess to see in the Roumanian and other gypsies of the South-East of Europe two types—the one with crisp hair, thick lips, and a complexion almost black, the other with fine profile, regular features, straight hair, and an olive complexion. The first-named are supposed to be the descendants of the earliest immigration, the second of a later arrival, though this explanation leaves us pretty much where we were before it was vouchsafed. Apart, however, from this classification, the Roumanian gypsies are usually divided into the Laiesi, who are labourers, blacksmiths, tinkers, carvers of wooden spoons, charcoal-burners, musicians, or persons who, like Tony Lumpkin's friend at "The Three Pigeons," are "obliged to dance a bear;" the Vatrari, who serve in kitchens and perform other household duties; and the Netotsi, the gypsy unadulterated, who nestles on the bare ground among deserted ruins, and lives as he can on what he steals, begs, or possibly even buys. Marriage rites among them are unknown. Their *ménage*, which is complete when they can camp in a ruined house, or a half-finished building, in a city like Bucharest, where both are too common, requires little preparation, and, as they dress in nakedness or rags, a wardrobe is not unattainable by the poorest of a race which is never anything but poor. A little labour, or some whining speech, can always supply the material for the purchase of their simple food. Wood is to be got for the stealing, and when death comes they trouble neither priest nor popa. Everywhere contempt follows the Zigan; yet though some observers have professed to see melancholy and hidden grief on the faces of those whom Beranger apostrophises as "gais Bohémiens," yet the gypsy cares very little for the contempt with which he is regarded. It is his lot: he never knew anything else; he cannot sorrow for what he never knew, and, being without ambitions, is incapable of a longing for consideration. On the contrary, the gypsy retaliates by despising the *Gadschi* around him. He himself is "Romnitschil"—the son of a man—and rejoices in his secret tongue, which no French-chattering Rouman can fathom, and in the superstitious fear inspired by his reputation for dabbling in the Black Art, communing with the Father of Sin, and possessing the Evil Eye. And when the peasant in his filthy sheep-skin

turns the Zigan away from his door, this child of the East leaves the Dacian shuddering as he reminds him of the day when he will return with Antichrist to torment Christian folk and eat up their children alive. For more than two centuries and a half —ever since Alexander, Voivode of Moldavia, gave them the permission to settle in the country—the Zigani have been at home in Roumania, and are gradually on the increase. At present they number, taking the mean between the different estimates, about 200,000, and, though enjoying freedom, it may be doubtful whether they are much better off than when they were serfs of the Government, the monasteries, and the Boyards, though in truth their lot was but indifferently agreeable under that wretched, effeminate, and utterly worthless class. But as nearly all the nobles were reared by gypsy wet nurses, the latter often established a claim on their foster children, and managed to form their morals at a very early stage of their career. What is the future of the Zigani in Roumania it is hard to say. They are too numerous to be easily absorbed into the rest of the population, though it is affirmed by those who have inquired into the matter that this amalgamation is proceeding much more rapidly in the lower grades of the population than mere passing travellers, or superficial observers, in the "City of Pleasure," imagine. The gypsy population is diminishing rapidly, if Wilkinson's estimate of there having been 150,000 sixty-five years ago, and Cogalneceano's of their total being now under 200,000, are anything like accurate. Many have already forgotten their own tongue, and several of the best type are intermarrying with the Roumanians. A few—a very few—have attained some position as musicians (*Laoutari*), and even composers. But though the race is clever, it is not within the limits of hope that they will ever reach even the social level of the whites, who despise them.*

In Russia there are about 32,000† of the race. The wandering ones camp in the forests and in the steppes, and though they must ask permission from the proprietors before doing so, this privilege is rarely refused, under the belief that, inveterate pilferers though the Zigani are, they will not rob those who befriend them. Their condition is very much the same as that of the kindred to the south. In the severest winters they have no protection except their linen tents, and the children may be seen in the coldest of weather clad or unclad to a degree which proves the hardihood of this Eastern people. The men are farriers; the women, dancers or fortune-tellers; and all are thieves, more or less. In Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other large towns, there are certain "traktirs," or restaurants, which the singing and dancing gypsies frequent. There their life is one of luxury, if being treated to oceans of tea and unlimited rum and champagne constitute a sybaritic existence. Indeed, there are tales of young Russians who have ruined themselves by their lavishness to these handsome songsters, though, to be sure, it may not have required a great deal of extravagance before the purses of these foolish lads were emptied. As elsewhere, the gypsies are famous for

* Berger: "A Winter in the City of Pleasure" (1877); Samuelson: "Roumania—Past and Present" (1882); Ozanne: "Three Years in Roumania" (1873); Vaillant: "Grammaire, Dialogues, et Vocabulaire de la Langue des Cigains" (1868); Cogalneceano: "Essai sur les Cigains de la Moldo-Valachie" (1876).

† The number was formerly stated at 50,000; but since Bessarabia was surrendered to Roumania, 18,000 went with that district.

their music, though it ought to be added that a good deal of the music sold in the shops of Moscow consists of airs written more or less in the gypsy styles by contemporary Russian composers.* To trace the condition of the gypsies over what may be called the more civilised countries of Europe would be a long task, and, after what has been said, perhaps an unnecessary one. Everywhere it is much the same, though more limited by law than in the easy-going regions on the confines of the



GYPSY TENT AT HACKNEY, NEAR LONDON.

East. In Germany, the gypsy is still, by the very fact of being a gypsy, a person under the ban of the Statute Book, who must have a license to travel the country, though for the most part he makes a show of being a settled man, living under a roof, and roaming no more—when the police are around.

The Scandinavian gypsies number about 2,500. In Denmark there are a few, but they are confined to the heaths of Jutland, where they affect to be householders, and are prohibited from entering the islands. If any of the race are caught passing the frontier from Germany they are promptly turned back, and the same remark will

* Sutherland Edwards: "The Russians at Home," vol. i., p. 295; Böhtingh: "Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Russland" (1853).

apply, with more or less accuracy, to those of Holland. In Norway most of them are still in that semi-barbarous condition which consists in their incessantly wandering up and down the country, frequenting the most devious and solitary roads and mountain paths between Stavanger and Agershuus, northward as far as Trondjhem and Finmark. They travel in bands with horses and carts, and sometimes a few domestic animals, particularly pigs, following the usual occupations of their race in other countries, such as tinkering, sieve-making, horse-dealing, horse-doctoring, not to mention horse-stealing and thieving of every description. These latter propensities have given them an evil name, and led to their being even less in favour than in England and other European countries. The peasant associates them with his emptied hen-roosts, and the decreasing number of his pigs and lambs, while in his heart of hearts he dreads the dark-eyed "Fanter," as possessed of the power of bewitching him and his cattle, just as in northern Finmark the Lapps still bear the reputation of having dealings with the powers of Darkness (Vol. IV., p. 278). Of late years, however, they have been intermarrying to a slight extent with the "Skoiern," or Norwegian outcasts, who are comparable to our tramps, the result of which is a lightening of their complexions, though this physical advantage is scarcely compensated for by the coincident deterioration of their morals, and the admixture amongst them of some of the most despised elements in the orderly Norwegian population. As regards their ethics, there is not much to be said for the Scandinavian gypsies, in addition to what has already been written concerning their kindred farther south. They frequent fairs, drink, get tipsy, and become extremely quarrelsome, the women being, if anything, the worse offenders in this respect. The Norwegian laws are very stringent in regard to every one being able to read and write before reaching a specified age, and accordingly the gypsy, who is found not to have acquired this elementary education is promptly committed to gaol, there to remain until he supplies his deficiencies. The efforts which the Government has made for their improvement have not been attended with much success. Some years ago the Storthing or Parliament voted a large sum of money for the amelioration of the "Fanter's" condition. They were lent money, and settled on farms on the shore of the Isfjord, opposite Veblungnsndj; but this start in life having lost its novelty, they speedily sold their farms and disappeared with the proceeds, though it is said that some of them living in the Valders are possessed of land. Mr. Hubert Smith, to whom we are indebted for many interesting facts regarding the northern "Fanter," tells us that they rarely if ever bury their dead in the Norwegian churchyards, and the disposal of the bodies of their departed friends is kept so secret that the peasants believe that the gypsies kill their aged relations to save them the trouble of taking care of them, though, even admitting this nonsense, the statement in no way explains what becomes of the corpses. In former days, the aged folk committed suicide to escape the burden of their haggard life, and even yet, Pastor Sundt affirms, weakly people anticipate their latter end as their fathers used to do. It is, however, very curious that in France the same mystery surrounds the disposal of the gypsy dead, many people holding the view that they turn the course of rivulets, and "digging a pit, place the body in the torrent bed, and again let the water resume its course."* Again, Francesque-Michel,† referring to the gypsies of the same

Bandrimont: "Langue des Bohémiens," p. 27.

† "Le Pays Basque," p. 143.

part of France and Spain—viz., the Basque country—notices that gypsies of great age disappear suddenly and are never seen again. Yet, though this is a common occurrence, “no traveller on the road, or shepherd or hunter on the mountains, ever saw the trace of a grave.” This fact was also noted more than a century ago regarding the German gypsies, whose ways of life Heinrich Grellmann* studied, and led him to ask whether in practising this method of interment they did not put in force an ancient custom, since “it was so they buried Attila, who followed, when he came into Europe, the same route as the gypsies.” In England, though it was not uncommon for them to be buried in fields or by the roadside, they are now generally interred in the ordinary churchyards, where may be sometimes seen rather elaborate tombstones erected in memory of the dead. Even in Germany and other parts of the Continent, before the time to which Grellmann refers, there were plenty of instances of gypsies being interred in Christian churches,† though it was not until the reign of Prince Danilo (1851—60) that the Montenegrin gypsies were accorded the right of lying in Christian churchyards, a fact which, Mr. Groome suggests, may explain the value they set on this privilege as a token of their escape from the degradation of centuries.

To resume our remarks on the Norwegian gypsies, Sundt notes that the modern “Fanter” deeply regrets the deterioration of their race by the admixture with other blood. In former times a gypsy woman who had consorted with a white man would have been burnt at the stake, while a male offender would have been expelled the tribe. We have only to add that Sundt, from whose researches these facts have been gleaned, mentions that the earliest notice of the race is to be found in an ordinance of 1589, and that he is of opinion that the gypsies entered Norway, not by way of Denmark and South Sweden, but through the north of Sweden and the Duchy of Finland, though there is no ground for believing that they have any affinity to the Lapps. We have, however, seen that many gypsies went, as early as the reign of Henry VIII., from England to Norway (p. 78), so that some at least of the fifteen hundred who are roaming the peninsula must have a different origin from that assigned by Herr Sundt to the “Fanter” in general,‡ a fact which neither this excellent writer nor M. Bataillard seems to have taken into account when formulating the hypothesis mentioned.

In France they are not very numerous (about 4,000). They are generally refused admittance to the cities, and made to conform, more or less, to the fashions of the people around them, though this is only partially successful (p. 88). Spain, where there are 40,000, is for them a pleasant land (pp. 80, 81, 109, Plate 44). There their singing and dancing are held in profound esteem, and the free-and-easy peasantry, so long as the Zincali will abstain from stealing their horses and fowls, tolerate them in an indifferent kind of fashion. The Italian *contadini* are equally good-natured. Many have emigrated to America and Australia; but there they maintain no separate existence, if we may take

* “A Dissertation on Gipsies,” translated by Matt. Roper (1787), cited by Smith, *lib. cit.*, p. 303.

† Instances of which from Steinbach (1445), Bautma (1453), Pforzheim (1498), Weissenborn (1632), are given in Liebich’s “Zigeuner,” p. 26 *et seqq.* See also, for some very recent data, Morwood’s “Our Gipsies” (1885).

‡ Sundt: “Forsat Beretning om Fantefolket” (1859); “Anden Aars Beretning om Fantefolket” (1862), &c., and Hubert Smith: “Tent Life with English Gipsies in Norway” (1873), pp. 310, 517—531.

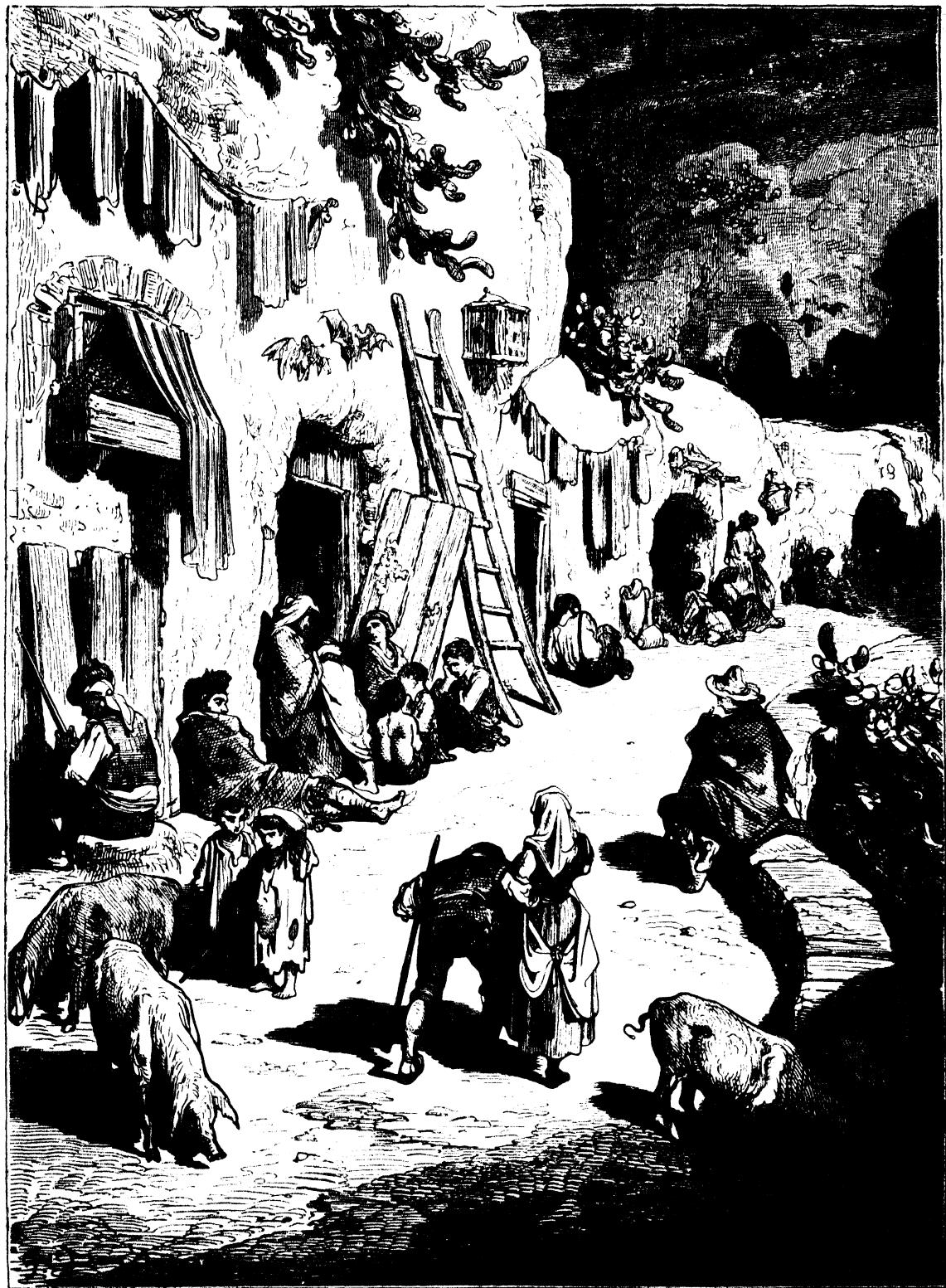
the census for our guide; for in the returns of the population of the Antipodes and of the United States they have no place.

Regarding the inner life of the gypsy, much though it has been written on and pretended to be studied, we are still in a great measure profoundly ignorant. A romance, which exists for the most part only in the imagination of the romancer, has been strenuously attached to their squalid life, and some credulous enthusiasts have even tried to hold up the race in the light of moral paragons. All this is worse than absurd.

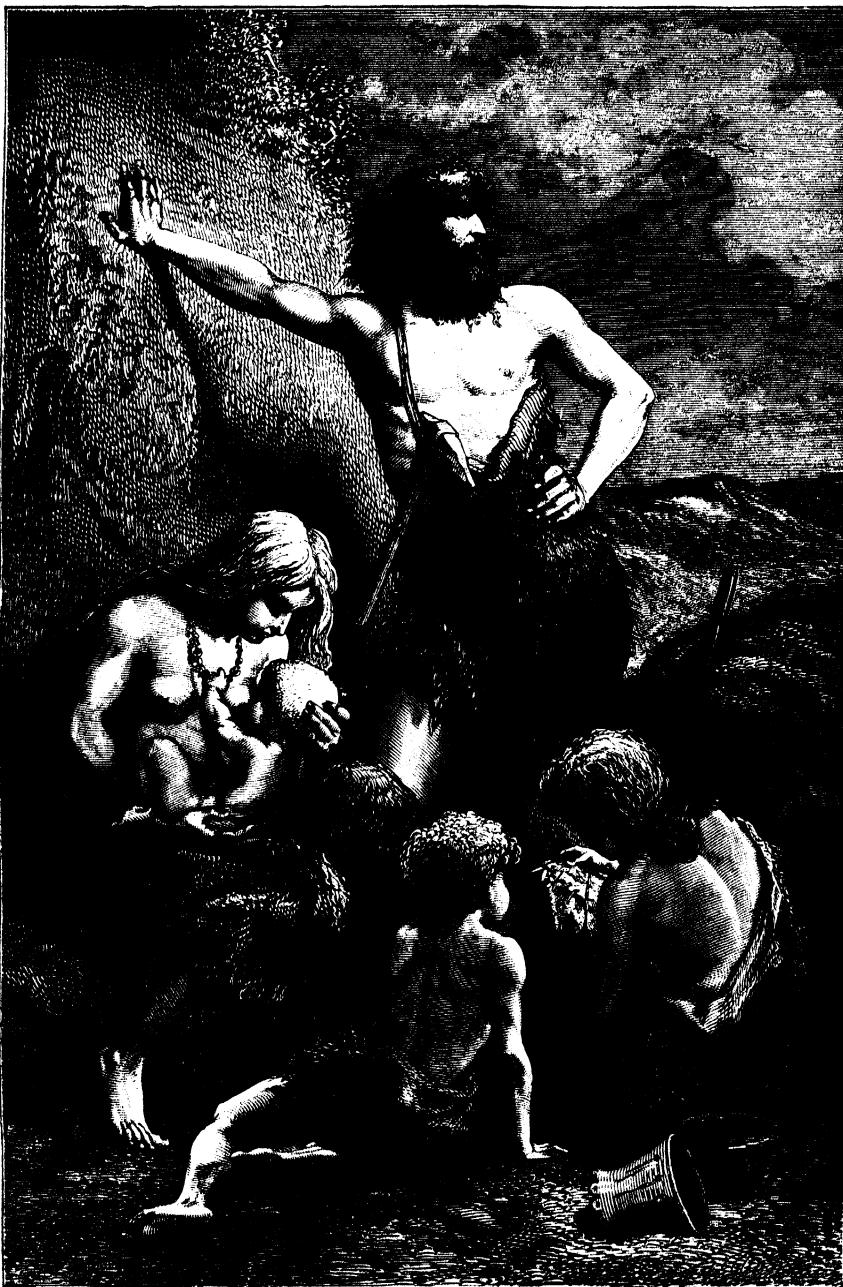


GYPSY ENCAMPMENT ON MITCHAM COMMON, SURREY.

George Borrow, whose labours can never be spoken of except with respect, declares, for example, that the creed of the Spanish gypsies is summed up in the words "Be true to your people, be faithful to your husband—and never pay any debts except those owing to your kindred." Others, with perhaps not much worse or much better authority, affirm that their marriages—if mere "drawing up with each other," or the indescribable orgies which in other countries serve for ceremony, can be regarded as such—are not binding; that they were in the habit of eating their parents; that (which is likely enough) they have no word for God and soul; that they are fetichists, and believe in the transmigration of souls—if a people who have no word for this can believe in what they cannot express—and hence refrain from eating eels and other animals, though in no way particular what they devour. These absurdities may be accepted as a type of



THE GROTTES OF SACRO MONTE, HEADQUARTERS OF THE GYPSIES (GITANOS) OF GRANADA.



FAMILY OF THE OLD STONE AGE.

in religion, habits, and language, about as little Turk as the Andalusian is Spanish, or as the Moriscoes driven out of Spain were Arabs. These, therefore, we may dismiss. Accordingly, glancing at modern Europe as it was before the age of telegraphs and railways and cities, we can recognise six great ethnological groups of nationalities.

ties,* or rather let us say, six collocations of peoples who, by the tongues at present in use amongst them, we can bracket in the manner described, though all of them, by the same test, seem to be of common origin, and to have come from the same region of Asia as the Hindoos. This region is called, for want of a better name, "Arya," and is believed to have been somewhere in High Asia, not far from the Kafiristan country; and the vast Indo-European connection who in some very remote period wandered from this centre—East and



THE PRODUCTION OF FIRE.

West—are called "Aryans." These Aryans, so far as they are represented in Europe, will be the theme of most of the pages which follow.

But after classifying and ticketing away yet all the folk within the borders of Europe as Celts, Latins, Thraco-Hellenes (if the contention that Greek and Latin are independent branches of the Aryan family of tongues be insisted on), Teutons, Slavs, and that expiring group of Aryans which still survives in Lithuania and the neighbouring country, and leaving out of account the later Asiatics as intruders whom history takes

* For politico-geographical purposes this number may be reduced to four, since several of them, which might be described from an ethnological point of view, have failed to preserve any place among the recognised powers of Europe. This plan has been followed in "Countries of the World," Vol. VI., pp. 198-304.

cognisance of, or who are too barbarous for civilisation to recognise, we have still some stray folk to reckon with. Many a forgotten tribe has doubtless been absorbed by the great races mentioned, many a language, of which no trace remains, been exterminated or forgotten. But in the Spanish province of Viscaya and around the Bay of Biscay, on both sides of the Pyrenees, and therefore subjects of Spain and citizens of France, live the Basques, a people not now to be distinguished in appearance from the Spaniards around them except by their language, which has no kin with any other in the world. These Basques, therefore, bring us face to face with the problem to which this chapter is to be devoted, namely, who were the aborigines of Europe? What remains have they left behind them, and, besides the "fundamental races" who at some remote period have passed into an ethnological amalgam bearing little resemblance nowadays to any of its component parts, have these prehistoric folk any modern representatives who have survived all the turmoil of ages, all the political vicissitudes of the long centuries which have elapsed since their ancestors fought with weapons of stone against the Aryan warriors who so suddenly appeared in their midst?

EUROPEANS OF THE OLD STONE AGE.

In the early pages of this work (Vol. I., p. 11) we took occasion to briefly allude to the classification which antiquaries generally adopt in tracing men from the most primitive to the highest types of civilisation. This arrangement takes the weapons which he used and their comparative rudeness as signs of the degree of culture which the makers had attained, the most finished being those of latest date, the roughest forms those found under conditions which imply a much greater antiquity for the hunter to whom they presumably belonged. Accordingly, we have the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages of civilisation. At the same time, it is perhaps unnecessary to warn any one that this classification is only to be received as expressing certain generalisations, not as periods hard and fast. Indeed, though originally formulated from data accumulated in Scandinavia, it applies with more or less accuracy to most other regions. But it would be altogether erroneous to imagine that when man in the progress of culture had learned to use bronze, the spear points, arrow heads, and knives of flint were instantly thrown aside, as if an aboriginal ukase had been promulgated, and that when iron displaced bronze the change was equally sudden. In reality, there were no doubt prehistoric conservatives who made the cave or the lake hut noisy with their denunciations of the new-fangled stuff, which was foreign, dear, and displeasing to the gods, who, in consequence, had driven away the reindeer and the urus, while many more would be too poor to purchase the costly weapons of metal. Hence the one period overlaps and inoculates with the other. Again, it does not necessarily follow that while the prehistoric Danes were abandoning their stone weapons, the prehistoric Britons were contemporaneous with them in the advance. Indeed, the Stone Period is, or was until lately, still existant in some parts of the world, for the writer has been one of a party armed with the most improved of modern firearms, who had to keep watch and ward against Shoshone Indians who were ready to attack the intruders on their domains with

arrows tipped with volcanic glass. We know, also, that the lake dwellers of Switzerland had not ceased entirely to use tools of stone for long after those of metal had been introduced amongst them. The *conquistadores* of Pizarro and Cortes were opposed to Peruvians and Mexicans armed with weapons such as the rudest of European nations had long since discontinued, and when Raleigh did battle in Ireland the half savage Celts met him with artillery no more efficient.* At Austerlitz a regiment of Tartars appeared armed with bows, and when the Allies entered Paris in 1814, the spectators were amazed at this gathering of men between whose degree of culture there stood so wide a gap as the character of the weapons which they bore indicated; for in the Russian contingent was a troop of Cossacks who carried over their shoulders the long obsolete bow and arrow, a weapon which was used also by the Chinese army in their first war with Europeans. Suppose, for example, that we were digging into some mound or refuse heap, such as those from which Dr. Schliemann disinterred the materials of so much forgotten history, we should find, provided the locality had been long enough the homes of men, first weapons of stone, then higher up those of bronze, and still nearer the surface the iron tools which in some cases are contemporaneous with that history which is written in books, or engraved in letters on stone. Commingled with these tools would be discovered others of horn, bone, and shell, which might suggest the existence, prior to the age of stone, of one in which tools were fashioned of such materials, or of a period when they were used at the same time as those of stone, bronze, or iron;† though here again we must, in formulating these cut and dried periods, face the fact that from unknown ages the savages of the interior of Africa have smelted iron, and to this day are ignorant of the art of mixing bronze. However, taking these useful landmarks in the modified sense we have accepted them, what do we find? In the gravels of streams, in caves which, owing to the fact of their having been covered over by landslips or by the accumulations formed by long successions of decayed vegetation, have until lately been unransacked by inquisitive people, and in the mud of lakes whereon they built their houses, we dig up weapons of stone, in many cases remains of their ornaments and domestic utensils, and in a few instances the bones of the owners, and the débris of their meals, which enable us to gain some acquaintance with their mode of life and the wild animals which must have been contemporaneous with these very prehistoric Europeans.

But the stone weapons are not all of the same kind. The oldest are rudely fashioned, simply chipped into the desired shape; the newest, on the other hand, are often beautifully formed, and polished so elegantly, that it is only reasonable to infer that in the long interval elapsing between what Sir John Lubbock calls the Old Stone Epoch (Palæolithic) and the New Stone Epoch (Neolithic), these prehistoric Europeans had acquired greater skill in art, and in what may, for lack of a better name, be called "civilisation." At the same time, the excellence of some of their carelessly scratched sketches of animals proves that it was not exactly inefficiency that led the Old Stone men to leave their spear heads unpolished, though this point is immaterial, since it is not to be questioned that the ruder

* See an excellent summary of this subject in a paper on "Weapons and Implements of Prehistoric Man" by Major Cooper King, in the *Transactions of the Berks Archaeological Society* for 1880-1.

† Sproat: *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* (1867), pp. 1-7; Duns: *Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries* (1879), p. 285.

weapons belonged to the older men, and the newer to a race who, though a long way from the period of written history, were much nearer our times than their predecessors.

First, then, let us glance, as fully as our space will admit, at the traces which the Old Stone men have left behind them in Europe, since, except from the inferences which are to be drawn from these fragmentary data, there is nothing else by which we can gain even a shadowy insight into the lives of those who may not im-



MAN IN THE DAYS OF THE CAVE BEAR AND MAMMOTH (PALÆOLITHIC EPOCH).

probably have been the remote ancestors of some of us. Among the weapons of bone which belong to this age are harpoon heads carved out of the antlers of deer, and on some of these implements of the chase can be seen figures which represent what is thought to be a horse's head, the head of a deer, and what seems to be a fish. Other tools of stone which might have been hafted in wood long since decayed have been suggested to be axes and scrapers to clean skins and to smooth the handles of wood, horn, or bone into which the flint weapons were fixed. As I have elsewhere pointed out,* some of the tools which puzzled the European antiquaries were almost identical with those which in earlier times the savages of North-West America employed for splitting logs; people compelled to

* Lartet and Christy: "Reliquæ Aquitanicæ" (1865-75), pp. 58, 67, 183, 286, 295, 296, 289, 302, &c.

live, as the prehistoric Europeans were forced to do, under much the same condition of life, being apt to resort to similar methods of existence, while Mr. Prestwich, in commenting on certain worked tools, has suggested that they might possibly have been used for cutting holes in the ice in order to fish or to obtain water during the severity of the winter. Stones of granite, hard sandstone, quartzose grit, and so on, were perhaps employed in "mashing roots, breaking and crushing bones, and other purposes." Nearly all



THE FIRST POTTER.

of these Palæolithic weapons are formed of flint or chert—chiefly of the former—while those of a later date, as Dr. James Geikie remarks, were formed of many varieties of hard stone, although flint, from its extremely tractable nature, was still in general demand, especially for arrow heads, and any instrument for which a cutting edge or sharp point was desired. There are also harpoon heads, awls, "pins," and needles with well-formed eyes, all made of bone or horn, and on some of the fragments of bone, horn, ivory, and stone, can be detected rudely, though graphically etched with some sharp pointed implement, representations of animals, which can be readily recognised as those of a fish, a seal, an ox, the red deer, the great extinct elk (*Megaceros*), whose bones are so often dug

out of the Irish peat bogs—the bison, the horse, the reindeer—no longer living in the portions of Europe where their idle hunters had an opportunity of sketching it—the mammoth or woolly elephant, and what has been taken for the cave bear, which nowadays we know only from the bones which are found in the caves which it frequented. There are also teeth and shells strung together—though the string has disappeared—for the purpose of being used as necklaces or bracelets, which shows that female vanity is, as we know from the study of modern savages, quite compatible with a condition of existence abject in the extreme. The Old Stone men seem to have been hunters and fishers, skilful enough at their business, since, with spears which seem so inefficient, they were able to war with animals so gigantic as those whose remains are found either in the refuse heaps, or in the caves which, troglodyte-like, they utilised as homes. The art of weaving they do not seem to have been acquainted with, and the chances therefore are that they clothed themselves in the skins of the deer, the musk-oxen, and other wild animals which they slew, sewn into garments with sinew thread, carried in the bone needles laid reverently by the side of the housewife; but whether we are to conclude that they used gloves simply because a digitated sort of figure is engraved on the tooth of a bear found in a Pyrenean cave is an article of belief not incumbent on any one. If the climate necessitated this protection for the hands, the chances are in favour of mits without fingers, like those in use among the Eskimo, being preferred to the less efficient ones in vogue with more civilised man.

No sign of agriculture or of domestic animals have as yet been discovered, and the proofs that they were acquainted with the potter's art are still too slender to admit of our deciding the question with certainty in the affirmative. It is equally guesswork to picture the more elegantly engraved weapons as the insignia of chiefs, instead of being merely the handiwork of some individual more tasteful or more industrious than his neighbours, though it is quite allowable to suggest that the perforated ornaments found in so many Palæolithic deposits may be amulets, which of course indicate a belief in unseen powers, and that the arms, ornaments, and implements laid beside the corpse, of which the skeleton only remains, are to be taken as evidence of a belief in a future state, though, indeed, it might with some force be argued that coins and other valuables are interred with the bodies of some modern savages whose confidence in the existence of another world has never been settled to the satisfaction of ethnologists.

The man of the Old Stone Period lived for the most part in caves, where we still can light on his blackened hearths, and the bones which he had split in order to extract the marrow. But the probability is that these were simply his winter abodes, and that like so many other people situated as he must have been, the Palæolithic hunters wandered about in the summer, camping in booths of boughs, or in skin tents, as the convenience of fishing, or hunting, or root- and berry-gathering, dictated. It is also all but certain, that they sometimes roamed far a-field, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the cave-men of the Pyrenees were sufficiently familiar with seals and whales to portray them on the bones where we now find them, or how sea shells from the Mediterranean and Atlantic have travelled so far from their native shores.* As for the people themselves, we cannot say very much

* Some of the articles—*e.g.*, the amber beads of the caves of Ojcow in Poland—indicate barter with more distant tribes; but if we are to accept the glass beads in the same locality as of contemporary origin with the rest of the

about them, since few skulls or skeletons have been found. The famous Neanderthal skull, which M. Mortillet claimed as proof positive of early man being little better than an ape, was found in a cave near Düsseldorf. But it is now admitted that it is well developed and capacious, and was most probably that of an old man afflicted with rickets, so that it cannot be accepted as a racial type, or—in brief—as of any special moment over the others which have been discovered in similar situations in Germany, France, and other parts of the Continent. The Cannstadt and Cromagnon skulls, so named from the spots in which they were found, are believed, from the juxtaposition of the remains, to have been contemporary with the reindeer, the rhinoceros, the mammoth, and the cave bear with which they warred. From the broken condition of some of the bones, and the marks of injury upon them, it may be inferred that the men of that remote period, like the more civilised ones who have inherited their hunting-ground, fought with even less cause for fighting. It may be—there is nothing very potent to be affirmed in support of the contrary opinion, except that people with so abundant a supply of large game could scarcely be tempted to indulge in so loathsome a dietary—that they were cannibals, and that the fragmentary skulls found in the caves had been broken in order to extract the brains, though if such had been the case it is extremely unlikely that we should never light on any other bones bearing marks of the teeth, the knife, or the cooking fire. In the beds of lakes and rivers we also find bones, which have either been buried there, as is not uncommon at the present time with certain peoples, or are the remains of hapless boatmen who have been drowned. The type of these skulls, which, with the weapons found in the like situations, are most probably of older date than the cave remains, is distinctly long-headed (Vol. I., pp. 7, 8), and consequently Caucasian instead of Mongolian, as was for a time the fashionable belief, though the Cannstadt skull is more "dolichocephalous" than the Cromagnon one, which is "finely formed, with a large and prominent forehead, and a cranial vault which bespeaks no lack of brain power."* There is nothing to show that these rude occupants of Europe were ever very numerous, though they seem to have had considerable settlements in the valleys of the Somme and Seine, and to have been scattered widely over many parts of France, such as Dordogne and Périgord, as well as Belgium, West Germany, and Poland; while, to use the language of Professor Boyd Dawkins, who has worked so industriously and written so clearly on the theme, "the primæval hunter who followed the chase in the

implements, then pottery, for example, and Roman coins, indicate clearly either that the cave had been the home of various races, or that Palæolithic men lived to a much later date than is currently affirmed. It also shows that M. Mortillet's classification of the remains of that period is very arbitrary and unjustified in the present state of our knowledge. In any case, it is unnecessary to confuse the reader of this sketch by introducing what is at best only a tentative arrangement devised for the convenience of a writer dealing with an embarrassing mass of facts. It must also be remembered that these caves may have been employed as the burying places of men living long after what is known as the Stone Age.—Romer: "The Bone Caves of Ojcow," translated by J. E. Lee (1884), p. 39.

* Quatrefages: "The Human Species" (1879), p. 312, and James Geikie's admirable treatise on "Prehistoric Europe" (1881), p. 23, which must put every ethnologist under continual obligations to him. See also, Lubbock: "Prehistoric Times" (1869); Lartet and Christy: "Reliquiae Aquitanicae," edited by Rupert Jones (1865-1875); Tylor: "Researches into the Early History of Mankind" (1865); Wilson: "Prehistoric Man" (1876); Mortillet: "L'Homme Prehistorique" (1881); Dawkins's "Early Man in Britain" (1880), Lyell's "Antiquity of Man" (1863), and Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements" (1879); works which place England in the front rank of this branch of study.



CHASE OF THE REINDEER DURING THE PALEOLITHIC EPOCH.

lower valleys of the Thames, armed with his rude implements of flint, must have found abundance of food, and have had great difficulty in guarding himself against the wild animals. Innumerable horses, large herds of stags, urii, and bisons were to be seen in the open country; while the Irish elk and the roe were comparatively rare. Three kinds of rhinoceros and two kinds of elephant lived in the forests. The hippopotamus haunted the

banks of the Thames, as well as the beaver, the water rat, and the otter. There were wolves also, and foxes, brown bears and grizzly bears, wild cats and lions of enormous size. Wild boars lived in the thickets ; and, as night came on, the hyænas assembled in packs to hunt down the young, the wounded, and the infirm." From these data—derived from the discovery of the bones of these animals, associated with the implements and remains of men supposed to have been their contemporary—it would appear that the " river driftman" hunted the



FUNERAL CEREMONY DURING THE PALÆOLITHIC EPOCH.

reindeer and other semi-arctic animals in Southern England and in France—the climate of which was probably different from what it now is—and was familiar with the elephant in Spain, and the pigmy rhinoceros in Greece, which are now extinct both in the countries which they then inhabited and in the world at large, and that, in brief, many of the physical features of the world even at that period differed from what they are at present. The river driftmen were thus earlier in appearance than the cave-dwellers, though, whether they were the progenitors of the latter, or a different race, we cannot for certain affirm. The one was a hunter of a low type, not lower, however, than the Australian. The cave-man (Vol. I., p. 12), on the other hand, was something of an artist, and though not now represented among the peoples of Europe, is believed by Professor Boyd Dawkins to have been

closely allied, if not identical, with the Eskimo, a conclusion which may or may not be correct, though the facts which this eminent geologist has culled from the writings of Arctic travellers, not having himself seen the people in question, afford good ground for asserting that he has a valid basis for his theory. As an old traveller among these people, I may, however, point out that the Eskimo have at no time during historical periods lived in Europe, that they are at present an essentially American race, that they appeared even in South Greenland within historical periods, that the few in Arctic Asia are emigrants from the American shore, and that if they are not of American origin the probabilities all point in the direction of their being rovers from the Japanese Islands, or the mainland in that vicinity (pp. 112, 113, 116, 117, 120, 121, 124).

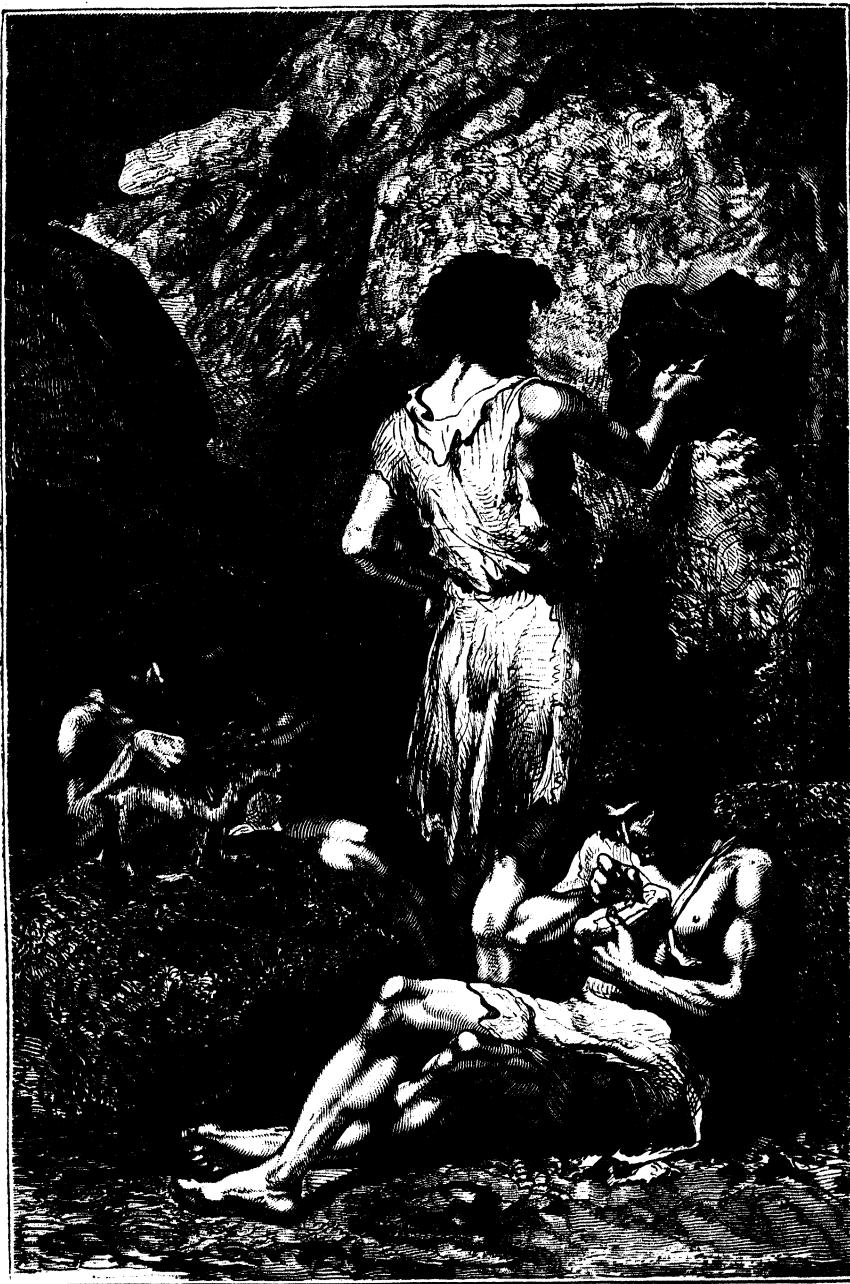
EUROPEANS OF THE NEW STONE AGE.

The fauna of the Old Stone Period differs widely from that of this epoch. Most of the animals with which the Palæolithic men did battle are either locally or wholly extinct. But when we come to consider the tribesmen who used the polished implements which are known as the New Stone or Neolithic, we make a wonderful leap up to modern times, though still a long way from the Bronze Age. Suddenly, as it were, without any transition, we find the rudely chipped arrow heads and axes abandoned, and with them disappear the animals which we have more than once mentioned. The fauna of this period is essentially the same as that with which we are familiar, and though the weapons are analogous in form—in some cases it would have been difficult to improve on the shape—their workmanship is different (Vol. I., p. 5). The chipped implements do not occur mixed up with the smooth ones, nor do the characteristic animals of the two epochs ever appear in one and the same deposit. There was a wide hiatus between the two periods, a hiatus which, as James Geikie has so conclusively shown, was filled up by remarkable geological changes, leading to an equally remarkable revolution in the climatic conditions of the country. "Palæolithic man had no knowledge of agriculture; he was ignorant of weaving and the pottery art, nor does he appear to have had any domestic animals. Neolithic man, on the other hand, was deficient in none of these respects. He seems to have excelled his Palæolithic predecessor in everything save his art. There are no sculptures, no etchings or outline drawings of animals pertaining either to the Neolithic or Bronze Age, that can equal the marvellous work of the reindeer hunters of Périgord and the Pyrenees. Even the drawings of the modern Eskimo are stiff and poor compared with the more perfect etchings of the Reindeer Period. Notwithstanding his wonderful artistic gift, however, Palæolithic man lived very much in the same state as the wild animals which he hunted. The accomplishments of Neolithic man, if less striking, were certainly more conducive to his comfort. It is a fine thing to be endowed with artistic capabilities; but after all, were we to be deprived of the good things which came in with our Neolithic progenitors—had we no looms, no earthenware dishes, no corn, no horses, dogs, cows, nor sheep—I fear we should hardly feel ourselves recompensed for the want of these by the possession of a notable artistic talent. Between Palæolithic and Neolithic man there is thus a wide gulf of separation. From a state

of utter savagery we pass into one of comparative civilisation. Was the Neolithic phase of European archaeological history merely developed out of that which characterised Palæolithic times? Was the European Neolithic man the lineal descendant of his Palæolithic predecessor? There is no proof, either direct or indirect, that this was the case. On the contrary, all the evidence points in another direction. When Neolithic man entered Europe he came in as an agriculturist and a herdsman, and his relics and remains occur again and again immediately above Pleistocene deposits, in which we meet with no trace of any higher and better state of human existence than that which is represented by the savages who contended with the extinct mammalia."

To a statement so clear and concise it is unnecessary to add anything, except a few pages descriptive of the chief remains on which these conclusions are founded. There is certainly no lack of them, for they exist in every part of Europe, and doubtless as time goes on these tangible data will accumulate in greater and greater quantity, though it is improbable that any future discovery will materially alter the inferences to be presently mentioned. What for the moment puzzles the ethnologist is the fact that rude implements and others much more polished—but both unquestionably belonging to the Neolithic Period—are found together. He is therefore bound to believe, which is no insuperable task, that some of the arrow and axe-makers were not so skilful or so punctilious as the others, and that it may happen that the comparatively primitive implements found in various localities were only the humble handiwork of a rude sept, not necessarily of a race older in the world's history than the people who made the polished implements which are known as "celts," &c. Among the best-known "monuments" of the Neolithic Age are the shell mounds found on various portions of the Danish coast, and familiarly known as "kökkenmöddinger," or literally "kitchen-middens" or refuse heaps,* which is exactly what they are. They constitute the *débris* of untold feasts which some prehistoric race held on these spots, just as the Indians and other savage peoples do, the same kind of heaps being found anywhere on the shores of North-West America at the present moment, while the archaeologist is reaping a rich harvest from studying those of the vanished tribes who in former times fed themselves on clams and other shell-fish all the way from Florida to Maine, and then tossed the shells, and the bones of birds and other animals, outside the wigwam doors, mingled with lost and broken implements now found commingled with the other *débris* of the barbarian's *ménage*. The Danish kitchen-middens are exactly of that nature. The cockle, the mussel, and the periwinkle shells which compose the bulk of these mounds are larger than the corresponding mollusca which inhabit the Baltic in the vicinity of the kjoekkenmoeddinge, indicating that at the time the Neolithic folk lived the Baltic was saltier than at present, while the oyster, so very abundant in the heaps, has now entirely disappeared. Bones of the herring, cod, torsk, eel, and flounder are found, and among those of the capercailzie (the great grouse of Scandinavia) occur bones of the great auk, a bird now entirely extinct all over the world, though,

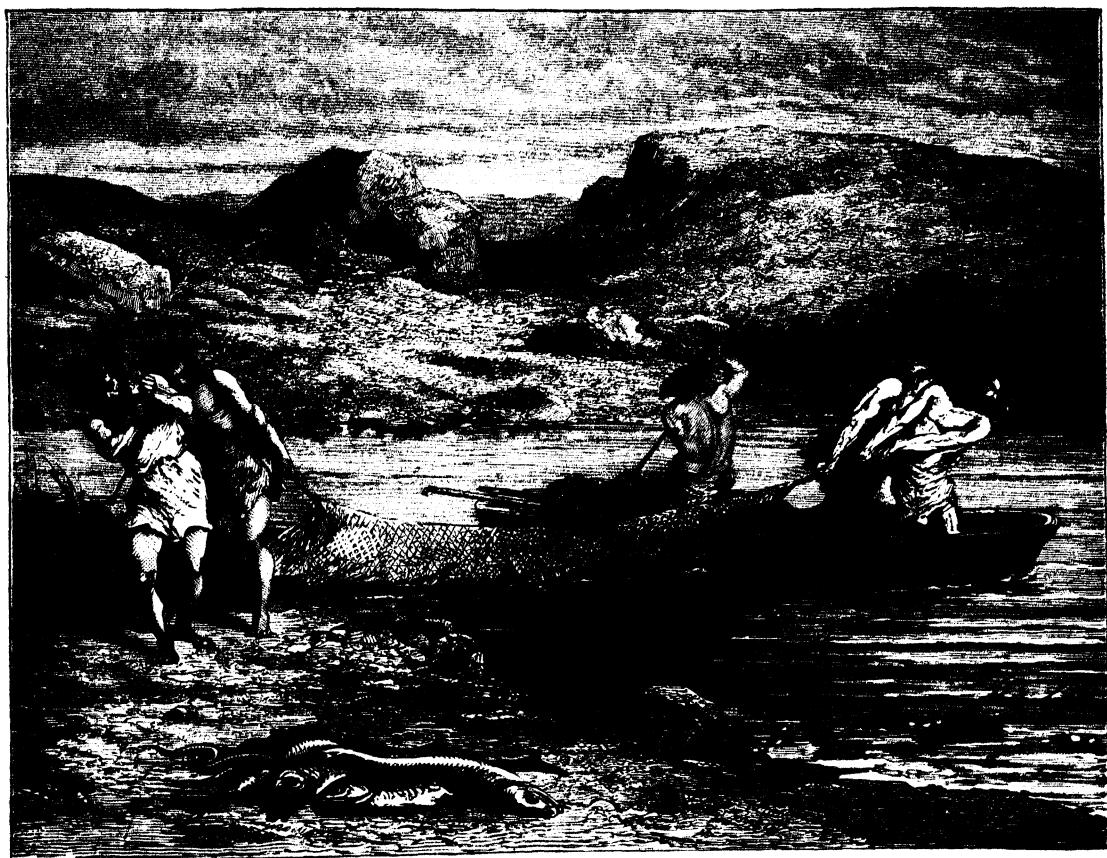
* Those "kjoekkenmoeddinge," to use the more archaic spelling, I have so fully described in a paper in "Science for All," Vol. II., pp. 102-110, which has been translated into Swedish and Danish, that it is unnecessary to do more in this place than sketch their salient features, adding a few particulars only lightly touched on in the article mentioned.



ARTS OF DRAWING AND SCULPTURE DURING THE PALÆOLITHIC EPOCH.

until comparatively recent periods, found quite plentifully in many parts of the North. The stag, the reindeer, and the wild boar are represented, while the urus, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the marten, the otter, the porpoise, the grey seal of the Baltic, the water-rat, the beaver, the lynx, the wild cat, the hedgehog, the dormouse, and a small ox, have been recognised by means of their bones. That the dog was a domestic species, is proved

by the fact that the parts of a bone which a dog will devour, such as the ends of a long one, are entirely wanting. But beyond this solitary exception, the traces of no other domestic animal have yet been detected in the kitchen-middens. It is not unlikely that the Kitchen-middeners ate the dog, as is done by many savages in modern times, and by some people who would be shocked were the name of savage applied to them, for on its bones are often found the mark of the rude flint knives, the broken fragments of which



FISHING DURING THE POLISHED STONE (NEOLITHIC) PERIOD.

are disinterred out of the same mound which contains the remains of the owner's dinner. The bones of young nestling birds, of which at present there is a great consumption in Jutland, are absent from the mounds, though we must not on this ground alone conclude that the primitive people were absent from the shores of Denmark from May to August, for it is more than likely that the dogs which rejected the long bones of birds as inconvenient to swallow devoured the slender and all but cartilaginous skeletons of the young ones, just as some people "wolf" quails whole. Indeed, we know that these men must have resided on the Danish coast during the entire year, for in their refuse heaps we find the horns of the deer or roebuck, as well as the embryonic skeletons of these species and of the wild boar. The presence of the bones of the swan show clearly that

during winter the Kitchen-middeners must have been on the coast, for it is in the winter only that this bird makes its appearance in Denmark; on the approach of spring it betakes itself to still more northern regions. Regarding the people themselves, we do not know anything, except what can be inferred from the data mentioned. They have not left lordly monuments to commemorate their little chronicles, nor any carven stones to keep in memory the doughty deeds of their famous men. We cannot light even on a bone which can with certainty be affirmed to have belonged to their bodies, not an arm, save the rude flint spear-head, not a domestic utensil, save the broken potsherds which were tossed aside as worthless, or the other implements of bone and horn which tell of their domestic cares, has descended to us who have come into the heritage of the Kitchen-middeners. A people have passed away and left their history to be deciphered from their dunghills. If they had a higher life than that which was devoted to supplying their slender wants we shall never know it. It is vain to speculate as to the gods they worshipped, or the demons they feared—as to what were their loves or their hates, or in this earthly here of what kindlier hereafter they might have dreamed. It seems that they were ignorant of agriculture, and with the exception of the berries in the woods, or the seaweeds on the shore, they were unacquainted with any means whereby their diet of flesh and fish could be varied with vegetable food. This eel grass or *zostera*, which, less than two centuries ago, was employed for making a coarse salt by macerating the leaves of the plant, was perhaps utilised by these very old Danes for the purpose of obtaining some material for flavouring their food, the Baltic being brackish, and therefore not a very promising source for salt. Not a trace of metal has been detected in the mounds, and the flint implements, though rude, are unquestionably much in advance of those fashioned by the Palæolithic men. Who the Kitchen-middeners are, cannot of course be settled to anything like satisfaction, though it has been hazarded, with some degree of plausibility, that the skulls found in the neighbouring peat bogs or in certain tumuli are synchronous with the mounds. If so, the probabilities are that the people who made them belonged to the same race as the Lapps, who at that time lived on the shores for the sake of fishing, but were contemporaneous with the builders of the tumuli referred to, and with the makers of the polished implements here and there found among the ruder implements. This at least is the conclusion at which our friend Etatsraad Steenstrup has arrived, contrary to the opinion of those who will maintain that the Kitchen-middeners were a people who lived in the North at the very dawn of Neolithic culture. Yet their antiquity is very great. Since they lived there have in all likelihood been some changes in the physical geography of the Baltic, though that need not surprise us; it is considered by many probable that the Oxus has changed its course within historical times,* and the Runn of Kutch is, we know, of very recent date. The presence of the capercailzie in the kitchen-middens proves that the Scottish fir, on the buds of which it feeds, at that time clothed the shores of Denmark, though, since the dawn of history, this fir has never been known as a wild tree of that country. In the peat bogs we find a layer of it, and over this layer one of oak, and over all is growing the prevailing and characteristic tree of

* "Countries of the World," Vol. V., pp. 302—3.

Denmark, the beech, which is so familiar nowadays as the chief ornament of the wooded shores of the Sound. Did a stronger race armed with weapons of bronze appear in the country, and after the manner of stronger races generally civilise the Kitchen-middeners off the face of the earth? Were they driven to some inhospitable land of the North wind, and are they now known as Lapps and Finns? Did some catastrophe—some great inroad of the sea, such as that to which the low-lying Danish Isles are no strangers—overwhelm the humble dwellings by the side of the dunghills? There are vague evidences which some think sufficient to prove this. But we know not. It is equally guesswork to suggest that the Kitchen-middeners became gradually incorporated by the men of the Bronze Age, and that their blood is still coursing in the veins of some of the darker-complexioned Scandinavians who may every now and again be noticed so markedly in the midst of a crowd of flaxen-haired Norse or Swedish peasants. All that we are certain of is, that at some early period, though most probably later than the Cave-dwellers of England, Germany, France, and Belgium, there lived on the Danish shores a primitive race who have left behind them no more pretentious memorials than the refuse of their dinners. We need only add that these mounds, though best displayed in Denmark, where, thanks to the industry of Forschammer, Steenstrup, Worsaae, Lubbock, and others, they have been so admirably studied, are also to be seen on the opposite shores of Sweden, in Scotland, in Ireland, in France, and elsewhere, though the majority of them are of a more recent date than those of Denmark.

The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe are even more interesting relics of the Neolithic Europeans. We already know that many modern savages, such as the Maracaibo Indians of Venezuela, various tribes of New Guinea, and certain peoples of Dahomey, the Upper Niger, and Lake Mohrya in Africa, have dwellings erected on piles over water, as either permanent or temporary residences; and that they were in vogue in Asia Minor in the Apamæan Lake as late as the middle of the fourteenth century, and on Lake Prasias at a much later period, we know from various historical documents. The researches of antiquaries have proved that on many lakes of Switzerland, Italy, and Austria a large population dwelt in similar houses, built on platforms at a short distance from the shore, not only during Neolithic times, but well into the ages of Bronze and Iron (Vol. I., p. 13), and in Switzerland as late as the first century of the Christian Era.* These Lake-dwellers naturally met with many mishaps. Their "dug-outs" may occasionally have capsized in paddling from the platform to the shore, or some valuable implement must have sometimes dropped into the water by misadventure, while, as a matter of course, the *débris* of the household was tossed into the water alongside. The result is that the materials for the study of the Lake-dwellers are much more abundant and varied than that which the ruder Kitchen-middeners have left for the use of their historians. The dwellings themselves have long ago disappeared, though it is evident, from the Roman remains found commingled with those of stone and bronze, that they continued in use long after the civilisation of Italy and Greece had reached its culminating point. Their foundations, however, remain in the shallow water over which they were built, and from a study of these relics Dr. Keller has been enabled to conclude that

* "Keller: "Lake Dwellings," translated by J. E. Lee; Dawkins: "Early Man in Britain;" Geikie: "Prehistoric Europe;" Brown: "Peoples of the World," Vol. I., pp. 260-1, &c.

the dwellings were of three different kinds. One group consisted of a superstructure supported by sharpened piles of wood driven into the bottom of the lake, or occasionally strengthened by cross timbers to steady the erection. On the top of these piles cross beams were fastened to form a platform, on which round or rectangular huts were built, the community being in some instances connected with the shore by a gangway, which in time of peril could at once be severed. All through the ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron much



THE CHIPPING AND POLISHING OF NEOLITHIC FLINTS.

the same style of architecture seems to have been followed, except that, during the Bronze Age the dwellings were farther from the shore, and in deeper water than those of the Stone Period; while in some cases piles of stones conveyed in canoes—one of which, with its cargo, was found sunk in the mud of the Lake of Bienna—were used to strengthen the piles already in some instances protected on the lake side by a kind of hurdle of small branches. This was the most common kind of dwelling. Those formed of piles not driven into the lake, but “fixed by a mortise and tenon arrangement into split trunks lying horizontally in the bed of the lake”—we are quoting Dr. Keller’s description—were much rarer, and were found only in places “where the bottom of the lake consisted of very soft mud, such as would hardly allow of a hold for the piles.” The third group, the “fascine dwellings” of Keller, were

hardened with a layer of gravel, while, from the presence of reeds and straw in every settlement, we may infer that they were thatched with these materials. The "crannoges" of Ireland and Scotland might be described as lake-dwellings, though in reality they were artificial islands, like the fascine dwellings described, but often surrounded by a circle of piles, and strengthened with an intermixture of earth and stones. But it is in Switzerland, Italy, Bavaria, Hungary, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and France that the lake-dwellings are most typically developed. A careful study of the remains indicated have enabled the Swiss archaeologists to arrive at certain conclusions regarding their builders that may be accepted as fairly justified by the data accumulated. In the first place, the Lake-dwellers were comparatively civilised, and in culture far in advance of the Kitchen-middlers. They wove and plaited cloth, and either cultivated or bartered corn from tribes who practised agriculture. Moreover, they had sheep, pigs, goats, and cows, and grew pears and apples, while they supplied themselves with fish by means of lines and nets. Their grain they ground into meal by means of a mortar, or by "mealing stones," and flavoured it, as do the Danes and Germans of our times, with poppy-seeds, or like so many other people, with caraways. They ate the water-chestnut, the hazel nut, and the walnut, beech nuts, and acorns, and, in the season, feasted on the raspberry, the strawberry, the elderberry, the blackberry, the wild cherry, and the sloe. The art of making pottery was familiar to them, and their implements of stone, horn, and bone were hafted in wooden handles. Tanning was practised, and the presence of a wooden last proves that they made shoes or sandals to measure. Fire they obtained by striking a flint flake against a piece of iron pyrites, and the stone implements were fixed into their handles by means of the Val de Travers asphalte, so commonly used in these times as a cement for street pavement. Their oxen were of the ancient breed kept in Neolithic Britain, and their swine, sheep, and cows were confined in pens near the huts of those prehistoric farmers. Their dog was a jackal-looking animal, which was probably brought from South-Eastern Europe, or Southern and Central Asia, since its nearest native ally is a jackal found in those parts of the world, while the hog is thought by Mr. Dawkins to have been introduced into Europe as a domestic animal. The sheep of the Lake-dwellers was horned, and of "a fine delicate breed," and the goat was probably the ancestor of the Welsh variety, though, as neither animal is represented by any wild stock in Europe, their ancestry must be sought for in some other quarter of the world, whence they spread over Neolithic Europe. The stock of the Lake-dwellers appears to have been introduced into Europe *en masse*, and not, as might have been expected, one after another, though it is doubtful whether the ass was a contemporary of the species mentioned, since it has been found in only two of the settlements.* In brief, it is all but certain that the domestic animals of the Lake-dwellers were brought from Central Asia, the home of so many of the European peoples. Dr. Heer has made out that they knew of a small-grained wheat, the Egyptian wheat, the two-rowed wheat, the one-rowed wheat, the compact six-rowed barley, the small six-rowed barley, the common millet, and the "Italian setaria," two of which—the "small lake-dwelling wheat" and two-rowed kind—are

* Keller: "Lake Dwellings," p. 543, 545; also, Rütemeyer: "Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten" (1861); Dawkins: "Early Man," pp. 290—302; and for the latest researches regarding the oxen, Storer: "The Wild Cattle of Great Britain;" Harting: "British Animals Extinct within Historic Times;" and Darwin: "Animals and Plants under Domestication."

quite extinct, while some of the other varieties differ somewhat from their kindred nowadays, though the data on which this lamented Swiss botanist based such momentous conclusions are in many instances far too fragmentary to be quite satisfactory. The common pea, flax, and bullace plum, in addition to pepper, caraways, pears, and apples were known to the Lake-



WEAPONS AND TOOLS OF PRIMITIVE MAN.

A, Flint Knife from one of the Danish Beds (Palaeolithic); B, Bone Comb from Denmark; C, Double-edged Axe; D, Bone Harpoon of the Old Stone Age from Denmark; E, Spear-head from Denmark (Neolithic); F, Spear-head from Spiennes (Palaeolithic); G, Toothed Spear-head of Flint (Neolithic); H, Flint Hatchet fitted with Stag's-horn Handle; I, Small Stone Saw from the Danish Deposits (Neolithic).

dwellers, and among the weeds which grew in their cornfields are the blue corn-cockle and the Cretan catch-fly, which are indigenous in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, the seeds of these wild plants being absolutely identical with those of the present time, though those of the cultivated species have improved by the centuries of care bestowed on them since Neolithic



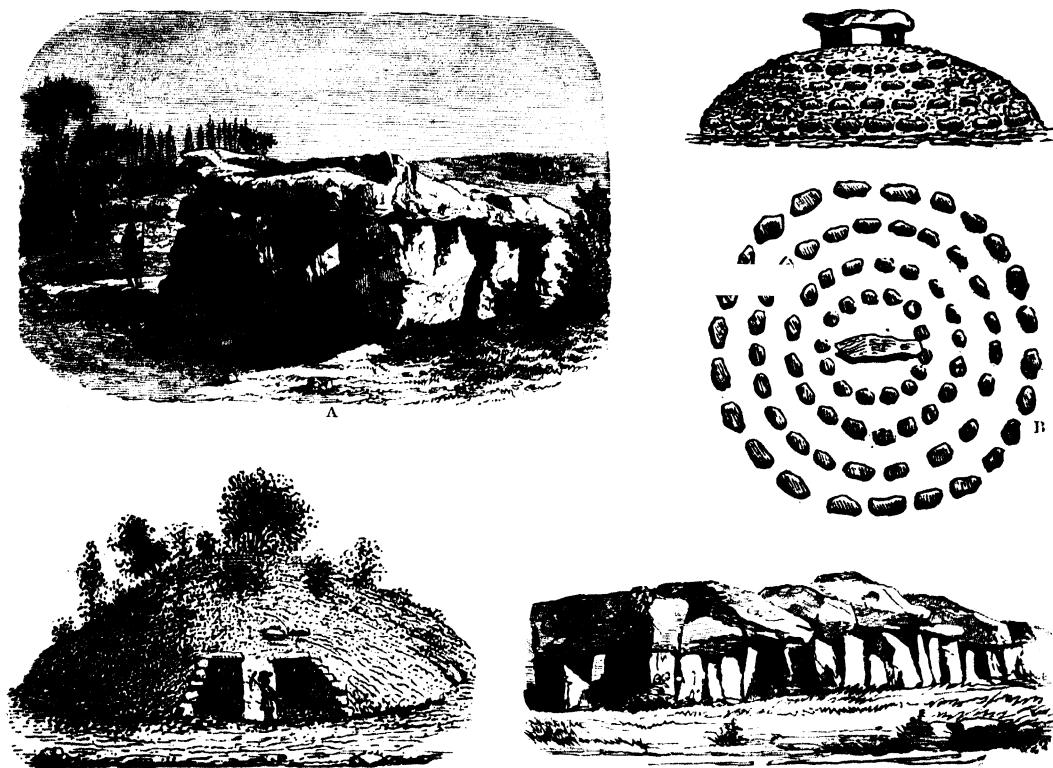
BATTLE BETWEEN MEN OF THE OLD STONE AGE (ENTRENCHED CAMP
OF FURFOOZ, IN BELGIUM).

times.* The Lake-dwellers were also hunters, giving chase to the fox, marten, polecat, wolf, wild cat, beaver, elk, urus, bison, stag, roe, deer, and boar, and killing all birds and fishes which

* Heer: "Die Pflanzen der Pfahlbauten," *passim*.

came in their way, though the reindeer found in Neolithic deposits in Britain is entirely absent from the remains dredged out of the mud of the Lake-dwellers' watery homes.

But the memorials of Neolithic culture are not confined to lake-dwellings and kitchen-middens. The barrows, standing stones—not Stonehenge, for that is a relic of the Bronze Age—the cromlechs, and other rude monuments of a similar description, may be all assigned to that era of European history. The barrows are for the most part sepulchral mounds, dating from the earliest Neolithic Period, up to the Bronze, and even the Iron



MONUMENTS OF THE NEOLITHIC AGE.

A, Dolmen at Connéré (Marne); B, Plan and Elevation of Dolmen with Cromlech in the Province of Constantine, Algeria;
C, Danish Tumulus; D, General form of Covered Passage-tomb.

Age, while some in Britain are as new as the Roman occupation. In the country the "long barrows" were the graves of a "long-headed race" of the Neolithic Era, the "round barrows" of a "broad-headed" people dating from the Bronze Age, and perhaps from ages not quite so remote. The long-heads were unacquainted with metal, which seems to have been introduced by their broad-headed conquerors, though in Switzerland a knowledge of the use of bronze and then of iron seems to have been acquired in a peaceful way, the mountaineers in their remote homes being comparatively safe from the warrior race who had arrived from Asia, and with whom the Neolithic folk began gradually to establish commercial relations. To sum up the conclusions arrived at regard-

ing Neolithic culture:—In Britain the population of that period was probably numerous, living in fixed habitations, and subsisting more by flocks and crops than by hunting and fishing. They spun and weaved, mined flint, made crockery, and built boats, strong enough for voyaging to France and Ireland. They carried on a considerable traffic in stone axes, and they were so far advanced in religious culture as to erect imposing tombs for the repose of their dead, while the presence of arms and other necessaries by the side of the corpse proved that they believed the warrior to play in the other world a part very much the same as that which he performed here, when he led to battle his swarthy tribesmen to plunder the camp of some rival sept at Old Sarum, or Caer Caradoc. Mr. Dawkins, whose conclusions we have adopted as the soundest offered for acceptance, regards it as all but settled that the Neolithic peoples migrated into Europe from that mysterious birthplace of successive races—that Eden of mankind—Central Asia, though they must have occupied the Continent for a long time before their arrival in this country; while “Britain must have been colonised long before Ireland, since the barrier of sea, which kept the Romans out of the latter island, would be a more serious obstacle to the canoes made out of the trunk of a big tree [Plate 45] than to a Roman fleet. The south-eastern derivation of the Neolithic peoples will go far to explain the sharp line of demarcation between them and their predecessors, the Cave-men, who retreated before them farther to the north and to the north-east.” Neolithic civilisation was long established and widespread, for remains of it have been discovered in every part of Europe, Northern Scandinavia and Northern Russia alone excepted. In Greece and Italy it yielded to a higher civilisation long before it passed away in Central and Northern Europe, and there is every reason “to believe that Egypt and Assyria were highly organised empires, and that the Mediterranean people were far advanced in the path of civilisation, while the Neolithic phase held its ground in France and Germany, in Britain and Scandinavia. The introduction of this civilisation is the starting-point of the history of the present inhabitants of Europe. To the Neolithic people we owe the rudiments of the culture which we ourselves enjoy. The arts which they introduced have never been forgotten, and all subsequent progress has been built upon their foundation. Their cereals are still cultivated by the farmer, their domestic animals still minister to us, and the arts, of which they possessed only the rudiments, have developed into the industries—spinning, weaving, pottery-making, mining—without which we can scarcely realise what our lives would be.” These eloquent words so clearly express what the author would have expressed less concisely, that he may be allowed to quote them in full, more especially since Mr. Dawkins has so exhausted the subject that there is little, if anything, for those who come after him to glean.*

* Dawkins: “Cave Hunting” (1874) and “Early Man in Britain” (1880); Lubbock: “Prehistoric Times” (1878); Keary: “The Dawn of History” (1878); Dawson: “Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives” (1880); Stevens: “Flint Chips” (1870); Bateman: “Ten Years’ Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Graves” (1861); Westropp: “Prehistoric Phases” (1872); Greenwell: “British Barrows” (1877); Waring: “Stone Monuments” (1870); Ferguson: “Rude Stone Monuments” (1872), &c.

CHAPTER V.

THE IBERIANS AND THE BASQUES : THE BRONZE AGE ; THE COMING OF THE ARYANS.

WE are now, historically speaking, approaching the period when another race or collection of kindred races appeared in Europe. In the upper layers of the Lake-dwellers' mud we see suspicious signs that the Age of Stone was passing away, and that a people skilled in the smelting of copper and of tin had appeared on the scene. Before them the Neolithic folk gradually vanished, or, as perhaps was more probable, amalgamated with them. At all events, as a separate people, and as the expression of a distinct phase of culture, we shall see them no more. But even after admitting that many of them would have submitted to the yoke, kindly or unkindly, of the bronze-makers, and toiled as long as they could in their pristine ways, it may be taken for granted that many of them would, as did the Britons at a later period, flee before the new-comers, and try to live their lives and speak their ancient tongue in some region too remote or too poor to tempt the cupidity of the invader. Did the Neolithians—to coin a new word—attempt that solution of the nationality problem ? We have suggested that in accordance with the opinions of some ethnologists, the Lapps were the Kitchen-middeners who had betaken themselves to such a place of refuge. The only difficulty in the way of accepting this hypothesis is that the Lapp tongue is not an isolated form of speech, but one of the same family as that to which the Finns and Votiaks belong, though—it may be conceded—the refugees might easily enough, as we have so often seen to be the case, have dropped the old tongue and adopted that of the Asiatic folk, among whom they in time found themselves. But as already indicated, there exist on either side of the Pyrenees a people known as the Basques, who speak a tongue entirely different from any in the world. They are at home in the very region one might have expected a persecuted people to seize upon, or to settle, just as the ancient Britons—or Celts—have in Wales, and their kindred of Scotland, in the Highlands of that country. The difficulty of the subject is accentuated by the probability of the earlier Asiatic immigrants, whom we have discussed as the Neolithians—the people who made the Kjökkenmoddings, who lived in the lake-dwellings, and were buried in the barrows—not having been exterminated by the later Aryan arrivals, but having to a great extent amalgamated with them, as did the Celts with the Saxons in England, though at the same time exchanging their language for that of the conquerors, just as the Celtic Gauls had abandoned their own speech for that of their Roman masters, or, reversing the process, as the followers of Rollo, after they landed in Normandy, abandoned and forgot their Norse speech in favour of the Romanic language of the people among whom they had so unequemorously settled. The old Prussians, the Poles of the Elbe Basin—now quite Teutonised—the Finnish Veps (Vol. IV., p. 282) of Lakes Onega and Ladoga, and many other races,* are also proofs of the ease with which a people will desert their mother tongue.

* This process is even seen among savage tribes. For instance, the Chehalis, in Washington Territory, are said to have taught their children the dialect they at present speak, owing to the difficulty their own presented to those who would excel in oratory.

It has been asserted that mixed languages are unknown, that when a people drop their old speech they drop it entirely, taking with them none of the vocabulary of former days. This is only partially true. In the dialects of Europe there are, in almost every case, foreign elements, English, Turkish, Albanian, French, and Roumanian, among others, being essentially composite tongues. But it has been noted by Mr. Keane, that in all the cases mentioned the outside elements have been made to



FOUNDER'S SHOP IN THE BRONZE AGE.

conform to the grammatical structure of their idioms, leaving their inner structure almost unaffected. English, for example, has a Teutonic basis, but a superstructure eminently Italic—that is, Latin; but these Latin elements which, contrary to the common belief, came indirectly from the Norman conquest, rather than as legacies from the Romans—have ceased to keep their old form, quietly shaping themselves into the usual Teutonic structure of the tongue. How far this was true of the pre-Aryan tongues we cannot say. All of these dialects—the modern European languages—show a common origin. But it is another question whether they were originally different, or whether the differences we now note—or noted when they first appeared in literature—were not due to an admixture of their Neolithic idioms, since it is probable that the latest comers were few in number, and

in the majority of instances unaccompanied by their womenkind. It is also in the highest degree improbable that these Neolithic tribesmen all spoke one dialect, or language, since at the present day many savage septs, even when of the same stock, and living in close proximity to each other, are mutually unintelligible, their speech being radically different. The Basques, however, though gradually abandoning their ancient tongue for the Spanish, still speak and write it, and as it is perfectly distinct from any other in the world, we have



THE CHASE DURING THE BRONZE AGE.

some right to regard them as "survivals" from the state of matters described in the last chapter; albeit, owing to their country having been overrun by Celts, Sueves, Visigoths, Franks, Arabs, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, there is nothing in the physical appearance of the people which would mark them, as a race, different from those by whom they are surrounded. If the Basques are a remnant of the Neolithians, we should expect to find traces of their tongue elsewhere than in their present home, since the retreat to Biscay would be gradual, and names stick with amazing tenacity to the places where a vanished people have for any length of time had their homes. And this is exactly what we do find, the primitive geographical nomenclature of the Peninsula being distinctly Basque. This suggestive fact was first pointed out by Wilhelm von

Humboldt,* and to him is therefore due the initiation of what is sometimes termed, not always without the suspicion of a sneer, the "Iberian theory." What connection, then, is there between the ancient Neolithians and the equally non-existent Iberians, and the people of the Basque country, whose speech has no place in the schemes of philologists?

THE IBERIANS.

The people known under this name have been the theme of so much controversy, that there is, perhaps, no single statement which can be made about them that has not been controverted by the adherents of an opposite school. For this reason, if for no other, it would be unadvisable to lead the reader into the quagmire of controversy, out of which he might emerge a sadder but not a wiser man. It may, however, be said, that when Spain became first known to the Greeks and Romans, it was inhabited by a swarthy race known as the Iberians, broken up into a number of tribes, speaking allied, though not identical, dialects, and having a rude civilisation and general characteristics in common. These people were different from the Phoenicians or the Celts, though at a later date, by combining with the invaders, they formed the Celtiberians, of whose proceedings we hear a good deal in Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient historians. Of these Iberians few remnants have come down to us, the coins often attributed to them, or to their kindred, the Celtiberians, being so illegible that almost any determination may be selected out of the variety which has been put forward,† though in all probability this advance in culture was quite unknown before the Iberians came in contact with the Roman legions.

So far, the Iberians are a somewhat shadowy people regarding whose ways of life and range very little can, or at least ought, to be said. But some sixty-four years ago Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of the famous traveller, promulgated the theory that the Iberians were one great people, who, in prehistoric days, or at the dawn of history, were scattered throughout Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Southern France, and had even spread into the British Isles, and that the Basques of the present day are their direct, if somewhat intermixed, descendants. The chief argument he deduces in favour of this theory is that in many districts of Spain and other countries described as Iberian, the topographical names are distinctly Basque. At a later date the records of anthropologists have shown that the Neolithic skulls found in the barrows described in the last chapter (p. 133) correspond more closely to the crania of the Basques than to those of any other people. Hence it is assumed that the Iberians—or in other words, the Basques, if the link between them and the Neolithians is admitted—spread at one time over much of the south and west of England and Ireland, and from that island wandered to western Scotland. Accordingly, the adherents of this extremely captivating, and, I am not prepared to say, unfounded view—though it is based on a vicious syllogism—look on the "small swarthy Welshman," the undersized dark Highlanders like those

* "Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens vermittelst der Waskischen Sprache" (1821).

† Boudard: "Études sur l'Alphabet Ibérien" (1852), and "Numismatique Ibérienne" (1859); Heiss: "Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne" (1870).

of St. Kilda and many parts of western Scotland and the Hebrides, and the "Black Celts to the west of the Shannon," like the typical inhabitants of Brittany and Aquitaine in France, as remnants of these Neolithic Iberians, and, therefore, kindred of the Basques. The true Basque stock—that is, the typical Basque not altered and transformed as he has become by the repeated invasions his country has undergone, is affirmed by those who have studied the question to be small in stature, dark in complexion, with black hair and eyes, and with a long head.* There is, however, no valid reason for concluding that the Neolithic folk were stunted in growth; on the contrary, they were in many instances powerfully built, and therefore probably tall, though of course it does not necessarily follow that a race which extended from the Pillars of Hercules—for remains of them have been found in the caves of Gibraltar—to the north-east of Germany and Denmark were uniform in physical features. In the British Isles the Iberians were probably preserved from contact with other races longer than their kindred on the Continent, where, as the remains in their graves prove, they had in due time to share their country with a taller race, almost certainly the Celts, who for so long a period formed the substratum of the European peoples, though the new-comers slowly encroached on the older residents, leaving those who did not amalgamate with the fair-haired invaders isolated in the midst of an alien population. When history introduces us, in a sort of perfunctory fashion, to the Iberians, they are retreating under the pressure of these immigrants from the East, just as they in their turn were driven out of their acquisitions by the *vis e tergo* of still fresher arrivals, the colonisation of Wales by them taking place in consequence of this pressure. "Just as the Celts," writes Professor Boyd Dawkins, who is one of the most uncompromising advocates of the Iberian theory in its latest developments, "pushed back the Iberian population of Gaul as far south as Aquitania, and swept round it into Spain, so they crossed the Channel and overran the greater part of Britain, until the Silures, identified by Tacitus with the Iberians, were left only in those fastnesses which were subsequently a refuge for the Welsh against the English invaders. And just as the Belgæ, pressed on the rear by the Celts [another branch of the same people] as far as the Seine, so they followed them ultimately into Britain, and took possession of the 'Pars Maritima,' or southern counties. The unsettled condition of the country at the time of Cæsar's invasion was due to the struggle then going on. The Iberian population by that time had been driven as far as they could go to the west, not only in Spain and in Gaul, but also in Britain, and were restricted to those areas in which the ethnologist can trace their blood in the present population. Since that time, however, they must have been profoundly affected by the invasions of the various Germanic tribes, who settled in their land, and forced back upon them the Celtic and Belgic peoples, ever pressing them to the west."

But the Iberians, or Basques (to accept once and for all what is at worst a good working theory), were not the only Neolithic people living in Europe, and recognised as such at the time of the Celtic invasion. The Ligurians dwelt in the vicinity of where Marseilles now stands, and in the regions between the Po and the Gulf of Genoa to the western boundary of the Etruscan country, and along the Mediterranean shores as far as the Pyrenees. It is

* Broca: *Revue Anthropologique* (1875); *Mémoires Anthropologiques*, vols. i. and iii.

also just possible that the Loire (Liger) and the term Lloegrians (Lloegr*) indicate their possessions on the Loire and in Britain. But it is evident that they were closely related to the Iberians, and the chances are also in favour of the Etruscans, who at the dawn of history held sway in the country north of the Alps into Tyrol and over Lombardy, being of the same non-Aryan race, and of being, like them, driven away from their ancient homes by the same invading peoples. In other words, "just as the Celt poured down through



CULTIVATION OF GARDENS DURING THE BRONZE AGE.

Central France, isolating the Ligurian and the Iberian, so he poured through the of the Alps into Lombardy, sundering the Etruscans of Rhætia and Noricum from those of Etruria proper. In my belief, the Iberians of France and Spain, the Silures of Wales, the Ligures of Southern Gaul and Northern Italy, and the small dark Etruscans, are to be looked upon as ethnological islands, isolated by successive invasions, pointing out that if we go deep enough in past time we should find that the whole of Europe was inhabited by a swarthy non-Aryan population."† With the exception, therefore, of the place names

* The Lloegrians, from whom is derived the modern Welsh name for England (*Lloegr*), came, according to Dr. Nicholas, from south-western France, the valley and region of the river *Liger*, or Loire, and settled in the south and east of Britain.

† Dawkins: "Early Man in Britain," pp. 322, 323.



THE FIRST WEAVER.

which Humboldt fancied that he detected in France and Spain—and Professor Sayce is sceptical regarding his success in that direction—the Iberians have left behind them only their bones and their graves as the materials from which to deduce their history and their genealogy. In the British Isles most likely some traces of their speech linger

among the Celtic-speaking people, who drove them into the least accessible portions of the country, and were themselves compelled at a later period to seek a shelter there also. Curiously enough, the Basque word for an axe means, if analysed, "a stone mounted in a handle;" a pick, "a stone to tear in sunder the earth;" a knife, "a little stone;" and a pair of scissors, "little stones for tearing sunder;" this shows how persistently the memory of these ancestral tools has clung to the speech of their descendants.

This, then, is the outline of the Iberian-Basque theory, as it may be received by the reader. But there are extremes, both among its advocates and its opponents, which prove how difficult it is to arrive at the truth. For instance, there are some writers who, like M. D'Arbois de Jubainville,* are willing to accept the Iberians as the descendants of the Atlantes—the hypothetical inhabitants of that great isle in the Atlantic of which Plato and other classical authors discourse in such attractive terms, and who maintain that not only did they penetrate into Spain, Gaul, Italy, and the British Isles, but into the Balkan Peninsula, Africa, Corsica, and Sardinia. This range M. Hovelacque will extend so as to take in the Canary Islands, where they were the Guanchos, while Professor Dawkins is ready to accept the assertion of Varro and Dionysius Afer that the Iberians of the West were identical with the Iberians of the Caucasus (p. 18). It only required Señor Tubino's profession of faith that the men who reared the megaliths, or standing stones of Northern Africa and Spain, were one and the same people not only with the Iberians, but with the Berbers, who form the basis of the population of Northern Africa, to complete the rotundity of the Iberian-Basque theory. Indeed, so short is the distance between Africa and Europe, that the inferences are all in favour of the Berbers, who are now becoming amalgamated with the Arab invaders under the general name of Moors, having crossed to Spain, and it is only the difficulty of reconciling the shape of their heads with that of the people whom M. Broca insists on being Iberians, which makes us hesitate on the threshold of an hypothesis so captivating in its sweeping comprehensiveness. On the other hand, M. Bladé† regards the whole Iberian theory as a delusion. He contends that Iberia is a purely geographical term, if not a Greek misnomer, for Spain, that there never was a proper Iberian race, and that the Basques never occupied a wider area than they do at present, being always surrounded by alien peoples, so that the problem of their affinity is still unsolved. The main current of opinion runs, nevertheless, entirely in the opposite direction, the weighty names of Broca, Huxley, Virchow, Busk, Dawkins, Tubino, Thurnam, and Davis, lending weight to the doctrine of the Iberians being the surviving Neolithians, and the Basques the modern representatives of the Iberians.

THE BASQUES.

The modern Basques are Frenchmen in France, Spaniards in Spain—good citizens and good subjects in either country—but Basques always, intensely proud of their ancient tongue,

* "Les premiers habitants de l'Europe" (1877).

† "Origine des Basques" (1869). Also, Graslin: "De l'Ibérie" (1839); Lachairo: "Les Origines linguistiques de l'Aquitaine" (1877); Tubino; "Los aborigenes ibericos" (1876); Hoffmann: "Die Iberer im Westen und Osten"

peculiar manners, and quaint traditions. In the former country the districts of Labourd, Soule, Lower Navarre, and the vicinity of Bayonne, Biarritz, and St. Jean de Luz, are Basque; in the latter, the "Provincias Vascongadas" are Navarre, Guipuscoa, Alava, and Biscay (Viscaya), the number of Spanish Basques being about 600,000, those of France amounting to less than one-sixth of that number, though emigration has of late years greatly thinned their ranks, especially on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. The language spoken by these people, we have already mentioned more than once, is peculiar to themselves, and in spite of philologists attempting to trace in it analogies with Mongol, North American, and East African dialects, in strict accord with the particular theory of the Basques' origin which they may have espoused, the tongue is absolutely unique. The substantive, for instance, has no distinction of gender, all the ordinary declensional and conjugational relations being formed by means of a system of suffixes, which enable the Basque to express by a single word what in other languages compels a long paraphrasis. "The termination of a word may thus express together mood, tense, person, number, the case and number of the object, and also the sex, rank, and number of the individuals addressed, besides other relations." Foreign words are quickly incorporated, and diminutives and other general affixes supply what is lacking in vocabulary, so that the Eskuara, as it is called, is a speech of great flexibility, and, in the mouth of the humblest Bascayan, of wide range. As a language it stands midway between the agglutinating polysynthetic and inflecting forms of speech (Vol. I., p. 10) —Humboldt applying the term incorporation (*Einverleibung*) to this peculiar condition. At present, it is written by means of Roman characters, but the alphabet is very complicated. Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who has made it his peculiar study, counts thirteen simple vowels, and thirty-eight consonants, to which he adds fifty-four phonetic elements, six diphthong vowels, and the aspirated consonants.* The Eskuara is, however, not a growing tongue, and many of the young people are abandoning it, as an everyday speech, so that its ultimate disappearance, despite the long ages during which it has kept its stronghold in the Pyrenean valleys, is all but certain. Indeed, contrary to the usual opinion regarding the unmixed character of the other European languages, M. Vinson declares that it is getting corrupted by the assimilation of foreign words; and in localities where the people come more freely in contact with the outer world than in the remoter districts, they have introduced into their language expressions, the idiom of which is purely Spanish or French, a circumstance regrettable from a philological point of view, but gratifying from the side of human progress, since the education and prosperity of the people have, as in all districts similarly situated, been retarded by the use of little-understood, and in many respects inconvenient, dialects. Bonaparte reduces the Basque *patois* to twenty-five principal varieties, grouped under eight great dialects, the characteristics of which it would be beside our purpose to describe in these pages. The habits of the people are more generally interesting. In appearance, the vast majority differ little from the people among whom they live, the endless intermixture

(1838); Phillips: "Über das iberische Alphabet" (1870), "Die Einwanderung der Iberer in die pyrenäische Halbinsel" (1870), &c.

* "Études sur les trois dialectes Basque des vallées d'Aezcoa, de Salazar, et de Roncal" (1872); Géne: "Éléments de Grammaire Basque" (1873); Van Eyss: "Dictionnaire Basque Français" (1866); Mahn: "Denkmäler der Baskischen Sprache" (1857), &c.

of alien races having made the detection of a Basque type of face somewhat difficult. As a rule, they are a slim, though wiry people, and far more powerful than their slender physique would lead one to expect. Their complexion is rather dark, and their eyes are grey ; like all mountaineers, they are excellent walkers, climbing crags with a skill which the lowlander would imitate at the risk of his neck, and easily distinguished by a practised eye, even at some distance, by their rapid pace and graceful carriage. The figures of the women are especially attractive. Their faces are usually handsome, their complexions beautiful, and their strength scarcely inferior to that of the men. To this, it may be added, that the fair Biscayans are fond of pleasure, lively in manners, and somewhat addicted to coquetry. All of the Basque people are indefatigable dancers, many of their figures being peculiar to themselves, and many of them are good musicians, and singers of the many national songs which have been preserved amongst them more by tradition than by being committed to paper. No man is more hospitable than the Basque, and while the poorest of them will place before the stranger the best he has, it is, as in the Scandinavian counties, a point of courtesy for the rich peasant's wife and daughter to wait upon the guest at table. He is, moreover, benevolent, devout, and extremely independent, and possesses an amount of native dignity which cannot fail to be noticed by those who have ever visited the Basque provinces. His manners are sincere and unaffected, and domestic backslidings of a serious description are practically unknown. Nor is the Basque, though fond of his country, without enterprise. On the contrary, during the Middle Ages, the Biscayans were famous as whale fishers. The species which they hunted off their shores was the *Balaena biscayensis*—not the "Right" Greenland whale, as sometimes supposed—and so vigorously was it pursued by these hardy folk that the species is now practically extinct. They also form the principal portion of the crews of the French vessels which, at the proper season, frequent the banks of Newfoundland, and, as seamen, may be found in every part of the world, and on the decks of ships of almost every nationality. They even cherish a myth that America was visited by Biscayans before the time of Columbus, though a boast almost as great, and more permissible is, that the Lieutenant of Magellan, in his famous voyage round the world, was a native of Euskalherria, as the Spanish Basques call their country.* As emigrants, they are well known in the country on either side of the Rio de la Plata, more particularly in the Argentine Republic, where there are said to be 200,000, chiefly in the province of Buenos Ayres. There they are always welcome. The Basque immigrant is a vigorous, somewhat ignorant, person, of quiet, industrious habits, who generally arrives with his family, and as a rule remains, working for the most part at agricultural pursuits or on sheep- and cattle-farms. Milk and butter are chiefly supplied by the Basques, and they are employed in occupations which require physical strength—in "saladeros," slaughter-houses, &c. Great wealth has already been accumulated by these laborious men.† There are also many in Mexico, and a large colony of them in Havannah, where their steady industry is appreciated by a people who have few of their virtues, and most of their shortcomings. Brave and sincere, full of religious ardour and fiery self-sacrifice, the Basque is made of the stuff out

* They designate themselves Euskaldunac. The word Basque (Bask) is the term applied by the French portion of the people to themselves, their section of the country being Heskualherriak—that is, the Basque heritage.

† Egerton, in "Reports of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation" (1881), p. 145.



TOOLS, WEAPONS, AND ORNAMENTS OF THE BRONZE AGE.

A, Winged "Celt," from Lake Dwellings of Switzerland; B, Winged "Celt" (front and side view), from ditto; C, Socketed "Celt," from ditto; D, Knife Hatchet (front and side view), from ditto; E, Chisel; F, Single, and K, Double, Fish Hook, from Swiss Lake Dwellings; G, H, Hairpins, from ditto; I, Bracelet, from ditto; L, Pendant, from ditto; M, Dagger, from ditto; N, Danish Knife; O, Sword in Neuchâtel Museum; P, Hilt of Scandinavian Sword; Q, Mode of fixing Handle to Scandinavian Hatchet; R, Blade of Danish Razor.

of which *conquistadores* spring. His mysticism sometimes diverges into superstition, a belief in witchcraft, and a fanaticism which is reckless of consequences. On the other hand, the Basque's pious zeal is exemplified in the lives of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, both of whom belonged to his nationality. Poets and men of letters have never been numerous amongst them, and positive science is a yoke to which the rebellious necks of the Basques are unwilling to submit. Most of them are farmers and graziers, men and women sharing the same work, the maritime population being generally fishermen and sailors.

The most curious feature in Basque economy is their "fueros," or local parliaments, elected in each province by the suffrages of the people, and partly by lot among the householders of each parish or town. These assemblies, which are much the same as those which existed in the ancient kingdoms of Spain and the old governments generally of the Pyrenean country, regulate legislature and the judicature of the provinces, most of the laws by which they are governed being unwritten. They determine, to a certain extent, the conditions of military service and the privileges of the nobility, and of the other classes of society. In addition, the "fueros" watch jealously their ancient right of independent local government, which grew up between the Roman occupation and the formation of the Spanish monarchy, and the maintenance of which was one of the conditions under which they submitted to the kings of Castile, after having maintained their independence all through the Moorish domination in the Peninsula. A delegation from the different "fueros" is charged with the preservation of all ancient customs, and the strict observance of the special Basque laws, and with any negotiations which may be necessary with the Spanish Government. Delegates also meet annually to consider the affairs of the Basque people, and affix their seal, representing three interlaced heads, to all documents which are the outcome of their deliberations, though no written compact constituting this assembly a federal congress is known to be in existence. It is, however, one of the finest characteristics of the Basques that in any dealings with them, public or private, the safeguard of a written document is unnecessary. Their pledged word is better than many other men's bonds, and hence from age to age their commonwealth has gone on without any one thinking that the codification of its simple laws, or the reduction to writing of its informal constitution, was necessary. Villages are rare, what goes under this name being mainly scattered houses placed within easy distance of each other, but all are cleanly to a degree, and in this respect remind the traveller of the Dutch hamlets. Lastly, the worst traits in the Basque character is their intense pride, which is the result of that dignity which is one of their most notable features, the patriotism for which they are noted, their proneness to violent passion, and their invincible love of gambling. Whether this is a weakness which they share with the Spaniards, or is inherited from their Neolithic ancestors, it is hardly worth speculating. Nevertheless, among implements taken out of caves in Aquitaine, I have examined what looked suspiciously like materials which might have been used in games of chance, like dice-throwing.

The Basque is not much addicted to literature. The only poet of any renown whom they can claim is Alonso de Ercilla, but he wrote not in Eskuara but in Spanish. They have, however, plenty of curious folk-lore, some of which Mr. Wentworth Webster has collected, and many songs which may fairly be termed national. One, describing the famous

defeat of the Franks, "when Charlemagne with all his peerage fell at Fontarabia," is by some critics believed to be as old as the event which it celebrates; while another, giving an account of the struggle of "the Cantabrians" against Augustus, is in language decidedly archaic. Here are two verses:—

Lelo! Lelo is dead;
Lelo! Lelo is dead.
O Lelo! Zara
Has killed Lelo.

The strangers from Rome
Would conquer Biscay.
Biscay raises
Its war song.

Lelo! il Lelo :
Lelo! il Lelo ;
Leloa! Zarac
Il Leloa.

Eromaco arotzac
Aloguin, eta
Vizcaic daroa
Cansoa.

The modern character of many of these poems is self-evident. Even in the two mentioned there are Spanish words, and in no case is the Basque tongue so rich in native poetry as the Lithuanian, the Estonian, the Romaic, the Servian, and others at which we may yet have an opportunity of glancing. In any case, the absolute antiquity of none of these can be proved, for the oldest authentic document in which any traces of the Basque tongue are mentioned does not date farther back than the tenth century. I have in the course of the preceding pages avoided saying anything regarding the custom of *courade* (Vol. I., p. 258), which nearly every writer on the Basques has made a point of describing among the most peculiar of their habits. But of late doubts have been thrown on the truthfulness of the statement that it is practised in modern times, and so far as its existence in former days is concerned, the only authority for the assertion is an obscure passage in Strabo, which might or might not apply to the Basques, and one or two allusions in works of the last two centuries. Again, it is now well ascertained that when Strabo declared that "the Cantabrians" made their daughters their heirs, to the detriment of their brothers, he misunderstood a custom common to all the Pyrenean villages, and not in any way peculiar to the Basques. The habit—one essentially Celtie or Gallic—is that the first-born, be he or she boy or girl, is known as "l'héritier," and receives whatever portion of the parents' property is disposable by law.*

THE BRONZE AGE.

The Basques are, however, only an interlude in the chronicles of European civilisation. They may or they may not be the representatives of the Neolithic men, but until their origin has been settled we are justified in holding to the opinion that they are. It is certain that towards the close of the New Stone Period there began to appear traces of another people having arrived on the scene armed with weapons of bronze. There are no signs of violence, at least so far as the succession in the mud round the lake-dwellings is in evidence. Here, however, as has been already suggested, the people lived in situations too inaccessible for the new arrivals to reach them. The Lake-dwellers, therefore, quietly

* Julien Vinson in *Dictionnaire des Sciences Anthropologiques*, vol. i., p. 168.

traded with them for their improved weapons, and in time learned the art of mixing the metals, and so made for themselves axes and spear-heads after the models of the flint ones to which they had been accustomed. Nor, of course, need it be repeated, were the weapons of bronze introduced all at once. We know, for instance, that in the north of Scotland there were tribes using flint arms long after bronze was in universal use in the southern part of the island. In Britain the Bronze Age civilisation was of much the



FEAST IN THE BRONZE AGE.

same nature as that on the Continent, and in every case was higher than that which preceded it. In France, which had the advantage of close intercourse with the cultured people south of the Alps, the weapons and arts of that period were far higher in grade than over the Channel and in Scandinavia, where the Bronze Period lasted well into the Christian Era. The people had in course of time so improved upon their original knowledge that in beauty of workmanship, and in many of the refinements of life as it existed among a warrior race, they had little to learn when iron displaced the metal in the working of which they had become so facile. In Britain, according to Dr. Evans, there was an early stage of Bronze civilisation, in which there is an evident transition from the Stone Period to the one which succeeded, the dagger and plain wedge-shaped axes being modelled from a prototype in stone.



WARRIORS OF THE BRONZE AGE.

At a later date swords, spears, palstaves, and socketed "celts" (p. 145) appear, most of them distinguished by the more elaborate ornamentation now appropriated to such articles. Gold also began to come into use in this era, and from the amber beads found in graves and elsewhere a commerce in this article appears to have grown up. Their houses were probably very much the same as those of their predecessors, for architecture

of the humbler sort has a curious persistence, the round houses of the ancient inhabitants of Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness being at the present day represented by the round stone dwellings of the people who are for the most part their lineal descendants. Some of them used crannoges and lake-dwellings (p. 127), and as likely as not the "cloghauns" or small stone houses, and the cabins of tempered clay in which the Irish peasantry have lived within historical periods were survivals from the Bronze Period, while in a few instances they took refuge, like the earlier Stone people, in natural caves. They dressed in linen when they could afford this, or in homespun woollens, and protected their feet by leather leggings and sandals. Earrings and necklaces were worn, and the warriors decked their arms with bracelets often of graven gold. They spun and wove, cultivated the land and bred cattle, rode horses, and drove chariots when the country admitted of this luxury. Pottery of an artistic order was made by hand, and of course they knew how to smelt the tin and copper used for mixing the bronze out of which so many of their implements of war, the chase, and domestic economy were cast or beaten. The dead were for the most part cremated along with their possessions, though there is plenty of proof that burial was carried on simultaneously, it has been suggested, by the Neolithic Britains, from force of habit or from its cheapness. The new-comers were intensely religious, if the stone circles which are so numerous in Britain are to be regarded as the temples of their gods. Avebury, near Devizes, in Wiltshire, and Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain (p. 152), are good types of the "rude stone monuments" of this era. In the latter some of the stones are of foreign origin. They have been brought from Cornwall, Wales, and the Channel Islands, showing that some vivid religious idea must have attached to them, otherwise it is scarcely likely that so much toil would have been expended on conveying great blocks across a rough country and with the most primitive means of transport. "These two great temples of an unknown worship," Mr. Dawkins very aptly remarks, "represent the Canterbury Cathedral or Westminster Abbey of the period, while the smaller circles to be found scattered over the moors and hill-tops in the south of England, in Wales and Cumberland, as well as in Scotland, are to be looked upon as the parish churches and chapels of ease"—and like churches generally they have also been used as burial-places, barrows in great numbers surrounding all the principal circles.* The making and sale of bronze implements seem to have occupied a considerable number of people. Sometimes, in the course of excavations, large hoards of metal intended for the smiths' use are disinterred, and in France a few years ago between four and five hundred finished articles were taken out of one grave, the inference being that they were the stock-in-trade of a dealer, and had been buried with their owner.

In studying this mass of highly-finished utensils, one is irresistibly led to ask why so ingenious a people who could melt copper and tin in order to make bronze did not at the same time extract iron from its ore, or use copper at the very outset, as so many of the American tribes did? As a matter of fact they did. The Egyptians, and most probably the Homeric Greeks also, had iron, although they made the carpenter's tools, and forged the warrior's shield, and even his spear and sword of bronze—that is to say, of copper mixed with

* Dawkins: "Early Man" (p. 377); Ferguson: "Rude Stone Monuments" (1870); Chantre: "L'Age du Bronzo" (1877); Von Bibra: "Die Bronzen und Kupferlegirungen der Alten und Ältesten Völker" (1869); Worsaae: "Primeval Antiquities of Denmark" (1849), and "Nordiske Oldsager i det Kongelige Museum" (1859).

about a ninth of tin added to give it hardness. The explanation hazarded by Dr. Tylor is that iron was difficult to smelt—Homer calls it “the much-wrought iron”—while copper, at least so far as the Levant was concerned, was abundant, Cyprus alone supplying large quantities. In Georgia, Khorassan, and in other easily accessible parts of Asia, there were tin mines. Accordingly, the ease with which bronze could be melted, and cast into stone moulds, would make it more convenient than iron to the ancient artificer, iron coming into general use only when it could be worked more cheaply, and therefore became more plentiful. This suggestion of the most distinguished of English anthropologists may no doubt explain why iron did not earlier supersede bronze. But it does not touch the question why copper was not used from the very first. The writers on this theme seem to take for granted that there was no transition from stone to bronze, but that the alloy came at once into use in Europe and elsewhere, for Mr. Dawkins and Dr. Tylor expressly declare that the Peruvians and Mexicans were working in bronze—though also using stone weapons—at the period when the cultured savages of Spain destroyed the polished barbarism of the New World. This statement is, however, scarcely in accordance with some recent data. Dr. Daniel Wilson, for example, found that eight types of Peruvian “bronze” hatchets were of unalloyed copper, and that seven Scottish axe-heads, rudely cast in sand, were of the same metal, in a state of almost absolute purity, though the weapons analysed had been assumed to be composed of bronze. In Ireland the same discovery has been made, thirty of the rudest, and, apparently, the very oldest “celts” in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, having been found to be red, almost unalloyed, copper. In addition, there are two battle-axes, a sword-blade, a trumpet, and several other implements, all of copper.* Copper “celts” have also been met with in Hungary and France. Though most of them belong to well-known and highly-advanced types in bronze, it has been inferred that they were the result of the want of tools necessary for the manufacture of bronze. Copper by itself would not afford, it is contended, a much better cutting material than stone. It is, however, more durable, and more readily sharpened by grinding. But in the mines of Lake Superior are frequently found chisels of pure copper, and all the earlier writers speak of seeing in the hands of the people along the coast weapons of the same material, while analysis goes far in proving that they were not mistaken in their statements. I am therefore inclined to fall in with the ideas of General Pitt-Rivers in thinking that there was a Copper Age in Europe, but that the scarcity of the weapons may be accounted for by their having been used up in subsequent ages for the manufacture of bronze. In any case, it is illogical to assume that there was a jump at once from stone to bronze, or that we can nowhere in Europe discover any trace of a transition period marked in its earlier stages by copper weapons, and, in its later, by tools in which the alloy was variable, since the facts mentioned prove something the very reverse of this.

In Europe, however, copper would not long be continued to be used after the superior qualities of bronze had been ascertained. Unlike what is the case in the vicinity of Lake

* “Prehistoric Annals of Scotland,” vol. i., p. 319; “Prehistoric Man,” vol. i., p. 232. Unalloyed spear heads have also been found in the valley of the Thames, and now that attention has been directed to the subject many of the supposed bronzes may prove to be of copper.

Superior, virgin copper in large lumps is rare in this quarter of the world. The metal must be laboriously smelted from the ore, and there was therefore little temptation, when it was obtained, to merely cut or hammer it into cutting tools, without the intermixture of the hardening alloy. Tin was worked in Scandinavia, Germany, Britain, France, and Spain, during the Bronze Age, and in Tuscany by the ancient Etruscans, though at the same time it is in the highest degree improbable that the art of mixing bronze was discovered in Europe, the exact percentage of tin being hit upon after a long series of experiments begun by a foreign people before they entered the Continent, and perhaps continued after they had reached it. This people came most probably from Asia. The first forms it took were simple implements and ornaments. Afterwards, ingots of it were used as currency, and in course of time the original centre from which the supplies were obtained gave place to local centres, where it was manufactured, owing to the convenience of the neighbouring



STONEHENGE FROM THE NORTH.

mines, and from whence it was distributed to the rest of Europe. But the discussion of these and the allied questions would lead so far beyond our limits, that the main data only can be indicated, the reader being able to study this interesting outcome of archaeological research in the numerous volumes mentioned. Perhaps the smelting of iron, like the mixing of bronze, was an art which came into Europe from the old centres of civilisation in Asia, and in time, as the miner's skill in its manufacture increased, the new metal gradually superseded the old, until, when the secret of tempering steel was discovered, it quite ousted bronze from the place it had kept for ages. But all this time, so easily has the transition from one "period" to another been effected, we have unconsciously passed from the age of the Neolithic men to that of another and a far more important race—from a people whose influence on the world's history has been almost *nil* to that of a series of Asiatic tribesmen to whom mankind owes all that is best and most ennobling in its civilisation. In other words, with the appearance of bronze comes the first wave of that flood which in time was to overflow Neolithic Europe, and make it doubtful, except from their rude weapons, what race of people were driven out of their old haunts by the Celts, who, with their weapons of bronze, formed the vanguard of this Aryan army.



FUNERAL CEREMONIES IN THE IRON AGE.

THE COMING OF THE ARYANS.

Henceforth we shall see no more of the stone tool-using men. They will disappear—massacred—civilised off the face of Europe, or most likely quietly absorbed by the new-comers, and persisting in the darker-haired so-called “Celts,” the inroad of which red-haired race was

the first shock which their organisation had to bear. But though they might have vanished in name, their memory still lingers in the folk-lore of Europe. They are remembered in the tales of giant and dwarf, ogre* and fairy, in the "brownies" of Scotland, in the "Nisser" of Scandinavia, in "trolds," and other uncanny beings, who suddenly appear out of the green mounds, which the Northern peasants knew as "Kempehoier," but which antiquarian research has associated with the vanished Neolithians, or who crept out of caves at night to pester the farmer who wrought them evil, or to aid in his work the one who had shown them some kindness. "Such old savages," Charles Kingsley remarks, "may have lingered (I believe from the old ballads and romances that they did linger) for a long time in lonely forests and mountain caves, till they were killed out by warriors, who wore mailed armour, and carried steel sword and battle-axe and lance." This is, of course, to a certain extent the story of all history, and may have been the fate of many of the Neolithians, just as it was at a later date of the Celts. But the probability is that such a doom overtook only a certain number of isolated tribes, and that the rest quietly accepted the lot which fell to them of marrying the conquerors, and being given in marriage; and it is almost equally certain that, when they were few, weak, and isolated, they were enslaved by the fair-haired invaders. It was long before polished flint weapons ceased to have a superstitious awe attached to them, and until comparatively recent times—and even in certain quarters still—"thunderbolts" were supposed to be sovereign in healing the sick, and in averting the evil eye from man and beast. In Scandinavia and Germany they were termed "Thor's hammers," and in Greece it is common to find small specimens which had been perforated, so that they could be hung round the neck as amulets; imitations were even made in sardonyx* and cornelian. The flint arrow-heads were known as "elf darts," and their form is still preserved in the cornelian necklace used by the Bosnian peasant girls, and sometimes one of them forms the central pendant of the splendid necklace found in Etruscan tombs. In Ireland, "soigheds," or fairy darts, are used by the "good people," and any one that is "fairy-struck" has been hit with one of them. If you find one of them, either in the ground or in tillage, it should not be brought into the house, or buried, or thrown away, but put carefully in the field wall, or ditch, or in a tree where it will not be easily found; otherwise something will happen to the finder. In Aranmore, "soigheds" are greatly venerated. Seals, when killed, must not be skinned with a steel knife, but with a "celt" made of a black silicious shale common on the island. The Aranites very often carry a "soighed" with them when they are going to a "patron" on the mainland, and leave it behind them at the holy well as a votive offering.† In Suffolk, a large stone with a hole in it is sovereign as a charm, and in Yorkshire a somewhat similar remedy is used against the evil eye.‡ In "Hudibras" (Part ii., canto 3, lines 291, 292), this amulet is alluded to when we are told that Sidrophel knew how to—

"Chase evil spirits away by dint
Of sickle, horseshoe, hollow flint."

Such "survivals" could be multiplied to almost any extent. Long after iron was

* Or is "Ogre" Ugrian? "Countries of the World," Vol. VI., p. 280.

† Kinahan, in "Folk-Lore Journal," vol. ii., pp. 260, 261.

‡ "Gentleman's Magazine" (1867), p. 307; "Choice Notes from Notes and Queries," pp. 129 130.

in universal use for all secular purposes, knives of flint were used by the Egyptians, Jews, and other people in certain religious or semi-sacred rites, and were buried in the graveyards under the influence of some superstitious idea inherited from a former condition of existence.* In the north of Scotland, the Isle of Man, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, the awe which attaches to the grave mounds of a vanished race is displayed by the dread which the country people have of their being destroyed, "no good coming" to any one who has been guilty of the crime of disturbing the dead who inhabit them. It is affirmed—Mr. Dawkins is our authority—that about the year 1859 a farmer offered a heifer as a burnt sacrifice, that he might avert their anger, excited by the exploration of a chambered tomb near the Tynwald Hill, where the old "folk moots" were held, and where proclamations are still made. These burnt sacrifices were at one time common among the Celts, the islanders of the Hebrides giving sore trouble not two centuries ago by their propensity to this species of Paganism; but the instance quoted may perhaps be assumed to be the last specimen of this prehistoric rite openly enacted within the British Isles. Among other Neolithic survivals, the holes found in stones over barrows may be cited. These little cavities, which have been traced over a large portion of Europe, and are known as cups, bowls, basins, "marmites du diable," and in some parts of Germany as "stones of the dead," sometimes occur on tombs and other places on isolated blocks of stone. At one time they were evidently used to hold offerings presented to the dead, and at the present day are frequently filled with lard or butter by the country people, who regard them with a vague, undefined dread, as in some way connected with the repose of the dead beneath, and their consequent goodwill to the mortals above. In time, Christianity seems to have appropriated them, since in Germany there are, hard by the pagan excavations, the figure of the cross, and in a great number of churches in Prussia and Sweden the holes have been made in the walls of the churches after they were built. "In the town of Greifswald it used formerly to be the practice to get rid of fevers and other maladies by blowing into them. Sometimes they bear marks of having been recently filled with grease. According to M. Hildebrand, the Swedish peasants of the present day call them elf-stones, and place on them needles, buttons, and the like, as offerings to the elves. These holes have been observed in some of the Icelandic churches built by Scandinavian colonists. The 'cup stones,' as they are termed by the countrymen, are still pointed out to the stranger on the moors, near Eyam, Derbyshire, and were used for offerings when the village was desolated by the plague. The Pin Hole Cave, in Cresswell Crags, derives its name from the habit of putting pins in a hole, and is to be looked upon as a survival of this superstition in the north of England, which has been traced as far south as the Pyrenees, and has left its mark on the holed stones of India. The worship of ancestors is probably the oldest form of worship, if not the oldest, in the world, and it still survives in Europe in the respect paid to elves, fairies, and 'little men.'"[†]

In reality, however, all "survivals" or Old World "superstitions" are more or less remnants of the Neolithic Age, though perhaps some of them may date no later than the

* Evans: "Ancient Stone Implements," chap. iii.; Cartaillac: "L'Age de la Pierre dans les Souvenirs et les Superstitions Populaires" (1878).

† Desor, Falsan, and Mestorf: "Matriaux," &c. (1878), pp. 259-287, quoted by Dawkins, *ib. cit.*, p. 340.

Celtic invasion. Water worship, which in one form or another is to be found in almost every county in Great Britain; fire worship, which is also widespread, in various shapes; the belief in thieves' amulets, such as the "lucky coal," or "lucky chalk," which they carry in their pockets as a protection against their natural enemy, the policeman; and the extraordinary ideas about the safety which the ownership of a "caul" imparts to the person keeping it, or taking it to sea, must nevertheless date from a very early period of the world's history,



PRIMITIVE FURNACE FOR SMELTING IRON.

for they are known to have existed in the earliest stages of civilisation, regarding which we have any written accounts. Indeed, the latter superstitions are simple fetishisms, perhaps the lowest form of religious feeling in the mind of man, since it endows with supernatural powers any inanimate object. Divination by the Bible and key, or by the sieve and shears, which constantly crops up in police-court cases, is also an extremely ancient superstition, though, of course, in the shape which it at present assumes, it cannot be termed a "survival" from the Neolithic Age. I may, however, mention, in connection with the custom of interring valuables and every-day implements with the dead, which we know was a practice of Neolithic and much later pagan times, and is still in vogue amongst various tribes of savages, that within the knowledge of my informant a case exactly comparable occurred less than forty years



WARRIORS OF THE IRON AGE.

ago in the village of Tybjerglille, in the south part of Zealand, not more than forty miles from Copenhagen. A peasant woman, when dying, strictly charged her relatives that a specified sum of money should be placed in her coffin, along with certain domestic utensils, and it may be added, as peculiarly suggestive of the readiness with which pagan rites can

become parasitic on Christian faith, that this "survival" of Neolithic times especially requested her Bible and Prayer-book to be among the articles interred. Since education has so generally spread among the Danish "bönder," Old World superstitions are fast disappearing, the conservative, and, as a rule, more ignorant country folk in England, clinging with far more tenacity to the beliefs of their ancestors, though education, in the conventional sense of the term, has less to do with this description of ignorance than a peculiar habit of mind which books and schoolmasters can affect in only the most inappreciable manner. Yet, when the village crone in "Little Tybjberg" reverted on her death-bed to what was really the creed of her "forfaædre," it was generally considered that a tumulus would be the most fitting grave for this descendant of those who reared them.

Who the Aryans, whom we have had occasion many a time and oft to mention in these pages were, or are believed to be, we have more than once hinted, but as the current views on the subject have been very fully discussed elsewhere, it is perhaps unnecessary in this place to do more than briefly indicate the theory adopted, adding to this *précis* some data which have drifted into the literature of "Arya" since we had occasion to review the standpoint of knowledge.* In brief, the Aryans, under which name come all the people to be considered in the chapters which follow, are, like most of their predecessors, believed to be of Asiatic origin, and to have begun to arrive in Europe, which is accordingly only a colony of Asia, at the close of the Neolithic Period, to which they put an end, though before the dawn of history. They are inferred, from the radical relationship of the tongues spoken by them, to have been originally of one race, and from much the same part of Asia. This region was probably in or about what is now known as the Kafir country (Vol. III., p. 278), though this is only speculation. Then, at some remote period, they divided into a number of successive streams wending their way to Europe; another series of human rills flowing through the Himalayas into India, and becoming the progenitors of the Brahminic Hindoos (Vol. IV., pp. 36—38). This we infer not only from the features of the Aryans of Europe and of India being much the same, but from the construction of their languages being identical, both being founded on the Sanscrit, in which the oldest of the sacred books of India are written, though it is no longer spoken as a vernacular tongue. The period when the first flow of Aryans set in towards Europe cannot be settled even approximately, and, indeed, we can only roughly guess as to the sequence in which they came by taking for granted that the Celts, who are farthest west, came first, and the people nearest Asia last. But even then, this conclusion is not infallible, since there have been many migrations before and after the dawn of history, and in one instance, at least, there has been an absolute retrogression into Asia again. It will thus be seen that the Aryan, or as some prefer to call it, the Indo-European theory, rests almost entirely on a linguistic basis, and language we know to be a very fallacious test, albeit, as in the case of the Basques, it sometimes proves more persistent than physical feature. However, should a discovery recently reported by M. de Ujfalvy bear the test of criticism, the Asiatic origin of the Aryan nations may be based on grounds which even the anthropologist will admit to be sound. This distinguished

traveller affirms that the Galchas of Fergana, and the highlands of Kohistan, are clearly of Aryan stock and speech, and that a Galcha skull examined in Europe proves to be identical with that typical of the Savoyards, whose Aryan origin has never been questioned. It is usually assumed that the Aryan emigration—which must, of course, have travelled from east to west—took two routes. One composed of Slavs, Letts, and Teutons, proceeded round the northern end of the Caspian and the Black Sea, into the European lowlands; the other, composed of Celts, and the Latin peoples, through Asia Minor in the Southern Peninsula, and the basin of the Danube, though, as we know from the cuneiform inscriptions that no Aryan tongue was current between Media and the Kizil-Irmak before the seventh century B.C. This exodus, as Mr. Keane fairly enough suggests, must have taken place before the rise of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires, and before the spread of the Hittites over Anatolia. Even then there is room for doubt whether these people were the earliest arrivals from Asia, since the Aryan tongue, fully three thousand years ago, had broken up into so many divisions as to make it difficult to understand how this could have taken place in so brief a period. Indeed, we have seen that the Neolithians were in all probability Asiatic. If we do not accept the Basques as their sole modern representatives, then an inlet is at once afforded for asking whether there is not a possibility that the people whom the Celts drove before them were not Aryans also? This speculation would, however, lead us far beyond our present limits, and so far outside of the field in which there are a few facts to play around, that we had better abstain from so unfruitful a debate.

The Asiatic origin of the Aryans has, nevertheless, not been permitted to pass unchallenged. Latham, long ago, hinted at Lithuania being perhaps their original home, and still more recently, Penka* and Schrader† have written bulky books to prove that Scandinavia, and the adjoining region of the Baltic, were their probable centre of dispersal. In Europe we find, according to Herr Penka, three distinct physical types. Two of them are of dark complexion, and have black hair and black eyes, but the one is big-headed and the other broad-headed. The third type is also big-headed, but the people belonging to it are all of light complexion, fair hair, and blue eyes, Scandinavia, Northern Germany, and England being the regions in which it is mainly found. The first type, on the other hand, is prevalent in some parts of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, and Spain, and along the shores of the Mediterranean, and in the east it merges in the Semitic race, which it closely resembles. The second or broad-headed type, of which there are several varieties, is also found in Great Britain and Ireland, and it prevails in Central and Southern France, Switzerland, Austria, Southern Germany, Northern and Central Italy, and Russia. The question, therefore, comes to be—Herr Penka urges—which of the three types is to be regarded as Aryan, for he is of opinion they cannot all belong to the Aryan race, because there has not been time, since the Aryans began to disperse, for the development of such widely different physical characteristics? One he concludes must represent the primitive Aryans, while the other must represent the race conquered by Aryan invaders. The answer which this latest of the Aryan controversialists gives, is—that, the Aryan race is long-

* *Origines Ariacæ: "Linguistisch-Ethnologische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Aischen Völker und Sprachen"* (1883).

† *"Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte"* (1883).

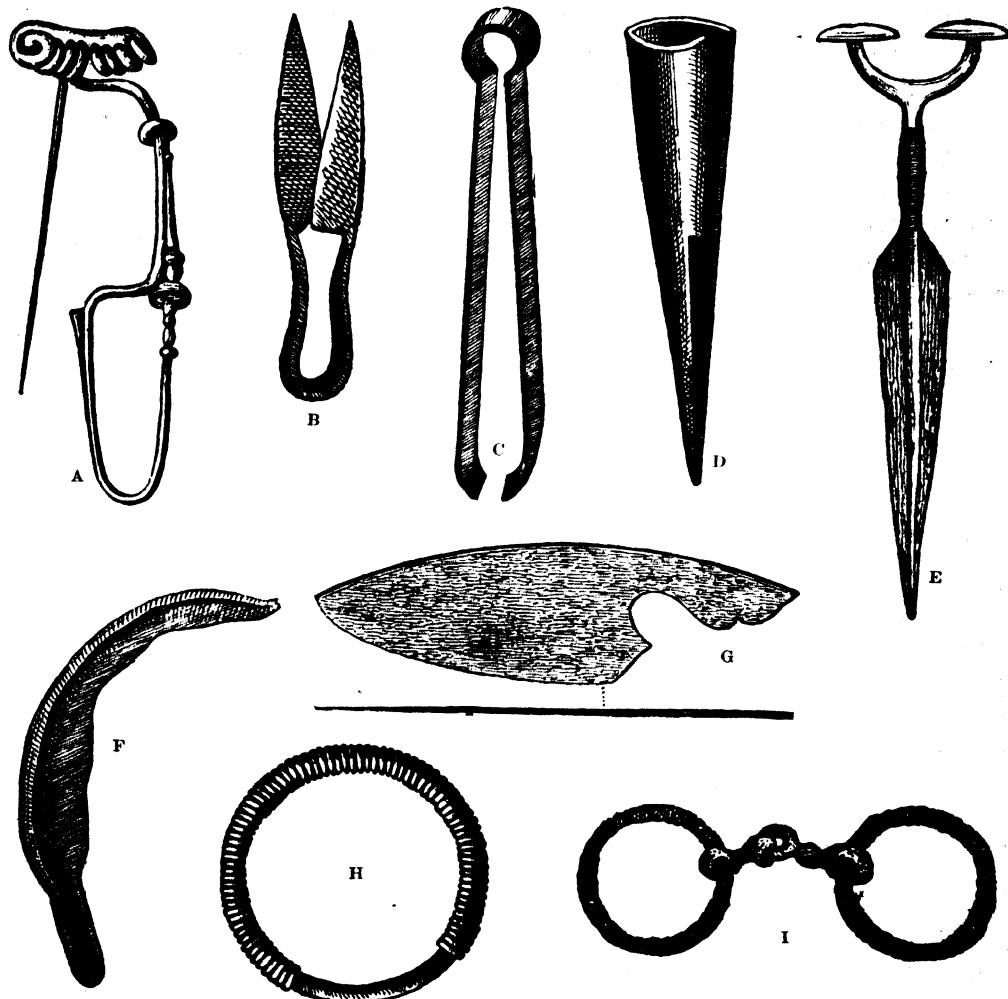
headed, and has a light complexion, fair hair, and blue eyes. In support of this conclusion he brings forward some evidence to show that in most European countries the majority of "the higher classes" still belong to the blonde type, a circumstance which has been frequently noticed in France as well as in Germany. In ancient Greece, too, certain passages in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and Euripides seem to indicate fair hair was considered one of the marks of the pure Hellenic race; and among the Romans it was the custom, both of men and women, to dye their hair yellow, a custom which could not have sprung up unless yellow hair had at one time distinguished the ruling class. In one of the old Norse poems the thrall is described as a man of dark complexion, while the noble is said to have white skin and light hair. The ancient Germans and Gauls were in the habit of lengthening the crania of their children by compression; and this could have been done only for the purpose of securing the shape believed to be characteristic of the race.

With regard to the primitive seat of the Aryan race, Herr Penka, as we have seen, holds, like a good many German scholars, that the Aryan race is indigenous in Europe. It is sometimes said that in their migrations races have been always driven by a mysterious impulse from the east to the west; but this is, of course, to beg the question. When the Gauls went in search of new settlements, they wandered as far east as Asia Minor, where some of them remained; and afterwards the Teutonic tribes pressed not only towards the west, but to the east and the south. The argument from analogy, therefore, whatever it may be worth, is not on the side of those who contend for the Asiatic origin of the Aryan race. Again, following Benfey and other scholars, Herr Penka contends that the primitive Aryans, as shown by the evidence of language, knew only such animals (the bear and the wolf) and such plants (the birch, the beech, and the oak) as are found in the temperate zone, and above all in Europe; while the fauna and the flora of Southern Asia (such as the lion, the tiger, and the palm-tree) were known in early times to no Aryans except those of Persia and India. Moreover, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that a race belongs originally to the area where it is most numerous and most vigorous; and in historic times the Aryan race has certainly always been most numerous and most vigorous, not in Asia, but in Europe.

In opposition to some philologists, Penka holds that the primitive Aryans knew the sea, and that they were acquainted with the art of making canoes; and he agrees with Müllenhoff in identifying the story of the *Odyssey* with the Teutonic legend regarding Orendel, "evidently one of the first Aryans who had the courage to expose himself to the perils of the ocean in a frail vessel." In the *Zendavesta*, there is a passage in which the Aryans are represented as having come from a land "where summer lasts only two months;" and in the *Odyssey* there are passages which appear to imply that the Greeks knew something about the clear nights and the dark days of Northern Europe. The most striking of all his scraps of evidence in favour of his theory, however, is the fact that Scandinavia seems never to have been held by any race that was not of Aryan origin. Some years ago Von Düben "examined hundreds of skulls of the existing population of Sweden from all parts of the country, and always he found the same type." This type (dolichocephalic, or long-headed) he found also in Swedish graves of the Iron Age, the Bronze Age, and the Stone Age. Of a hundred skulls obtained from graves of the Stone Age in Sweden and

Denmark, ten were brachycephalic; but the rest were dolichocephalic, and Herr Penka believes that the brachycephalic, or broad skulls, were those of Finns or Lapps taken captive in war and reduced to slavery.

But Herr Penka is not content to leave the question at this stage; he pushes the



TOOLS, WEAPONS, AND ORNAMENTS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE.

A, Fibula or Brooch, found in the Lake of Neuchâtel; b, Spring Shears, found in ditto; c, Pincers, found in ditto; d, Point of Boat-hook used by Swiss Boatmen in the Early Iron Age; e, Dagger from Tombs of Hallstatt, with Bronze Handle and Iron Blade; f, Scythe, from Swiss Lake Dwellings; g, Razor, found in the Lake of Neuchâtel; h, Buckle for Sword-belt, found in ditto; i, Horse's Bit, found in ditto.

inquiry as far back as it can be made to go. If the Aryans were inhabitants of Scandinavia, how did they happen to get there? In answering this question he endeavours to prove that not only the Aryans but the whole human race originated in Europe. At that remote time the climate of Europe was tropical; but afterwards the Glacial Age began, and then tribe after tribe had to wander southwards, eastwards, and westwards, in quest

of more congenial conditions. Some, however, always remained as near as possible to their first settlements; and when, after many thousands of years, the ice receded, they followed it northwards, as they had no other means of obtaining the food to which they had become accustomed. These were the forefathers of the Aryans, who probably acquired all their most distinctive physical qualities through climatic influences before they reached Scandinavia. At the time when they were making their way towards the north, the Mediterranean coasts and the Atlantic seaboard were held by the other long-headed race (with dark hair and dark eyes), the descendants of which are still to be found in these regions. For a while the greater part of Europe may have been almost destitute of inhabitants, but by-and-by it was occupied by successive hordes of the broad-headed race which survives at the present day. This race did not rest until it came into contact with the long heads of the west and the south, whom it seems to have subdued. Then came the Aryan invasions, which may have begun about 3,000 years before the Christian Era. The first who left Scandinavia were the ancestors of those Aryans who ultimately occupied Gaul and Italy; they were followed by the ancestors of the Greeks, of the Aryans who settled in Lithuania and in what are now Slavonic lands, and of the Aryans of Persia and India; and last of all appeared the Germans. The Aryans who remained in Scandinavia passed slowly southwards to the more habitable parts of the country, thus making room for the Lapps, who took possession of their deserted territories. In climates which suit them the Aryans still possess the expansive force for which they were remarkable at the dawn of history: but in some countries and districts, where the climate is too hot for them, they have almost or altogether died out, although their language continues to be spoken by the dark-eyed, dark-haired people who have survived them. Even in countries and districts where they flourish, the primitive physical type of the race has generally been largely modified by mixture with other races.*

We have devoted some space to Herr Penka's views simply that once for all the school of which he is the exponent may receive a fair hearing, for the author is convinced that despite the ingenuity with which they are argued, and the flood of learning poured on the theory adopted, they are, as Meyer has pointed out, fallacious as a whole.† At the same time, it cannot be denied that some of the structural elements of the original Aryan speech have been better preserved in the West than in the East, though to admit this as any proof that these elements were first developed there would, as Mr. Keane very acutely remarks, be to argue that because some old English forms have been better preserved in Ireland and North America than in Great Britain, and even in North Germany than in their original homes, the cradle of English speech is to be sought in the New rather than in the Old World. If, however, the ideas of Herren Penka and Schrader are fanciful, what is to be said of the hypothesis of Poesche,‡ who maintains that the Aryans were originally differentiated from the other primitive Europeans by a process of Albinoism in the marshy lands about the Divide, midway between the Black Sea and the Baltic? Colour is, however, the least marked character of the Aryan; and, moreover, any such peculiarity as Albinoism

* *St. James's Gazette* (London), July 21st, 1884.

† *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* (June, 1884).

‡ "Die Arier" (1878).

is never persistent, and is apt to vanish in the second generation, or after the circumstances which led to it have been removed.

Europe is thus, no matter what theory we may adopt, essentially an Aryan continent. There are in it non-Aryan elements (Vol. IV., pp. 274—287, and Vol. V., pp. 1, 2), but compared with those of which we have to treat they are of comparatively little importance. It is impossible to determine with any approach to accuracy the order in which the different Aryan races arrived. But so far as we can make out the *Celts* were the first, and the *Greeks* and *Italians* (the Latin people of most writers) next, though these are the first among the European Aryans to appear in history. Of their arrival, however, history is silent. After them come the *Teutonic* family, and in their wake the vast progeny who are known as *Slavs*. The migrations of these two races, however, come within the range of recorded history, for if we know little regarding their mother-land and the manner in which they left it, their long wanderings over all parts of Central Europe, and their settlement in the southern and western regions which they now occupy, are detailed in the books of the chroniclers. In Britain, the Teutonic invasion by which the Celts were displaced, or assimilated, is well known, as is also the process by which the Northern Peninsulas were Germanised by Teutons displacing non-Aryan Finns or Lapps, if we have to reject Herr Penka's notion of the country having been uninhabited when the Aryan settlers came. It is, nevertheless, certain, that in Europe there is not one unmixed race. The original elements have got so commingled that though the predominating characteristics enable us to arrange the people of the Continent into certain great groups, and to sketch in some detail their features, in the blood of even the Dane and the Norwegian, there flows that of races which long since vanished, or which now exist in a much less prominent state than in the remote times when the amalgamation began, and imparted many of the most valued qualities to the people thus hybridised.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CELTS: THEIR RANGE; MIGRATIONS; HISTORY; CHARACTERISTICS; DIVISIONS.

WHEN the Celts—or Kelts, to employ a more phonetic spelling—first branched off from the rest of the Aryan people it is vain to inquire. Still more idle would it be to take into serious account the stories of Milesian colonies in Ireland, of “Brute” giving his name to Britain, or of the vanquished of Troy migrating into Wales, since these legends are all, without exception, the silliest of monkish fabrications. When history first lets light in upon the people in question, we find the Celts spread over a considerable portion of Western, Southern, and Central Europe, and there evidently so much at home that their advent had not been recent. They had at this period occupied the greater part of Gaul, which comprised most of modern France and a little more, the only portion of ancient *Gallia* which was not Celtic being the Iberian district between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and an irregular

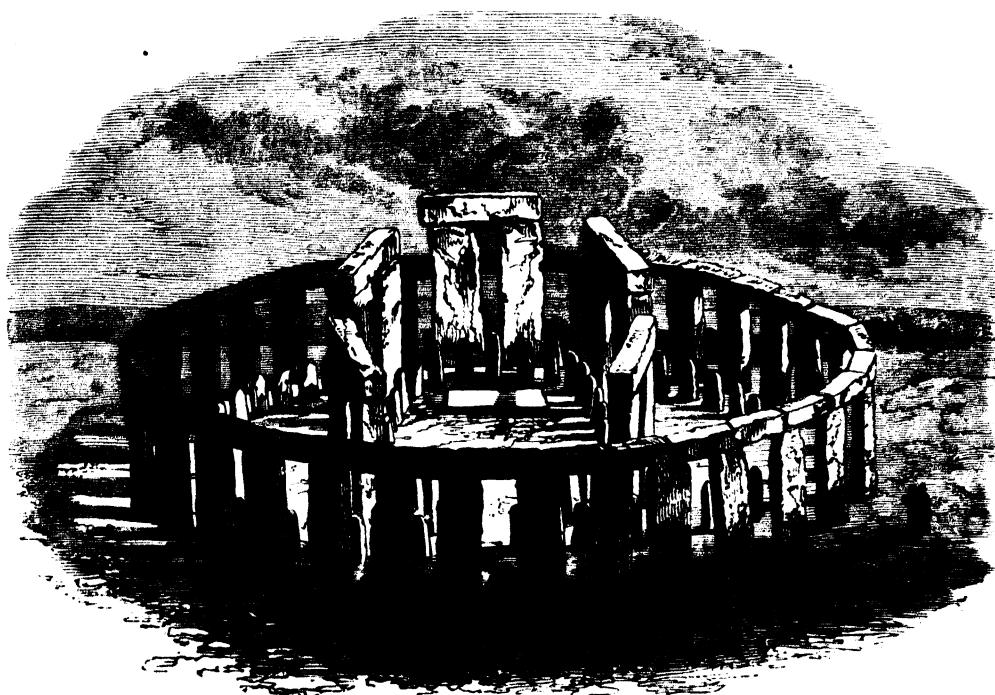
tract along the Rhine. Parts of Switzerland and of Holland were occupied by this race, and it is certain that the Celts had advanced far into the valleys of the Po and Tiber, and there are evidences of their having been in other sections of Italy, where they have left traces in the Latin tongue and Roman blood. Other detachments had spread into Spain and Portugal (p. 139), while hosts of them, crossing the Rhine, made their way into Southern Germany and Bohemia, and these, keeping down the valley of the Danube, invaded Thrace and Greece, less than 300 years before the Christian Era, finally, on being repulsed, settling in Asia Minor (Galatia), where, being few in number compared with the rest of the population, they soon merged into the general mass. There were isolated



BRITON WITH CORACLE (STILL USED IN WALES).

settlements of the Celts in Hungary (Pannonia), and in other sections of Europe also, though the evidences in support of some of the supposed Gallic colonies is not sufficient for us to dwell on the subject. Last of all, most of Great Britain and Ireland was covered by Celts who had crossed from Gaul, the embouchure of the Rhine, and elsewhere, under the name of Belgæ, &c. When Cæsar landed, the inhabitants of our islands were Celts, the Iberians (or Neolithic folk) having by that time become either exterminated or absorbed. They were divided up into numerous tribes, or little sovereignties, each independent of the other, and not unfrequently at daggers drawn, and spoke slightly different dialects of the same language. It is also certain that they had crossed from the Continent at various periods, but whether bearing the name of Gauls, Gaels, Gwyddyls, Celts, Cimmerii, Cimbri, Cymry, Brython, Lloegrians, Scots, and Picts, the races thus designated were essentially one people. In brief, these were the same as the "Ancient Britons." The Cimmerii, or Cimbri—from which word the Welsh Cymry has been fancifully derived—were at home in the valley of the Danube, on the shores of the Sea of Azof, and in the Peninsula of Jutland,

from the last of which localities they poured forth during the second century B.C., and played havoc with the Roman armies, until they were completely routed near Verona, though fragmentary bodies of them were left behind in these warlike excursions, or voluntarily wandered in search of new homes. By what route they crossed Europe from Asia can only be guessed, for history supplies merely the faintest of data, and it is equally uncertain when, or by what route, they entered Britain and fixed their home in Wales, where they, of all the Celtic tribes, fought the stoutest fight against the invaders, and still live in name and in reality as one of the most admirable portions of the British people.



STONEHENGE AS IT PROBABLY WAS (AFTER BROWN).

The Belgæ were a cognate race with the Cymry, and came from the regions now known as Holland and Belgium, Picardy and Normandy, though it is not impossible that there was some Teutonic blood amongst those whom Cæsar found in this country when he crossed the Channel. But wherever found, the fatal Celtic impossibility of union for a common purpose was displayed in the endless subdivisions which existed amongst them. In Gaul they are said to have been broken up into sixty-four States, and among the tribesmen who opposed Cæsar there were from the Britons of Kent alone four "kings" in alliance with Cassivelaunus. The Picts were probably the earliest Celtic settlers in the north part of the kingdom, and, it has been conjectured, colonised Ireland, and possibly the Isle of Man, which is still one of the Celtic strongholds of Great Britain. The Manx language also belongs to the same branch as the Gaelic and the Erse, the Welsh, the Armorican, or that spoken in Brittany, and the extinct Cornish coming into a second division. On the other hand, it is in the highest degree probable

that the Scots and Gaedheli, from whom the modern Gael is derived, came back at a later date from Ireland, for both Scots and Gaedhels are Erse names for the old Irish.

LANGUAGE AND CHARACTERISTICS.

What language these ancient Celts spoke cannot now be gathered with accuracy from the fragments that remain, though there is no reason for supposing that the dialects differed more widely from each other than they do at present, or that the old Celtic tongue varied from that at present spoken more radically than an unwritten language will vary in the course of ages. Tacitus, indeed, says* these dialects were all very much alike, and we learn from Cæsar that the same Druidical rites prevailed in Gaul and Britain, only the latter country was regarded as their chief seat. Merchants passed and repassed the channel in their rude coracles (p. 164), and no sooner was the intention of the Romans to invade Britain known than it was conveyed to the islands by their Continental kindred. Whenever danger threatened the one people the other displayed the warmest sympathies; indeed, one reason given for Cæsar's invasion was that in all his wars with the Gauls the Britons had rendered them assistance, though, when no foreign foe was at hand, the different branches of the Celts—and even the different septs which divided the islands among them—were always ready to do battle with each other. Altogether, it would appear that the Celts of two thousand years ago were more one people than they are at present. Foreign elements had not so alloyed their blood as they subsequently did, and national unity had not been interfered with by the rival interests which the presence of powerful nations on their immediate borders aroused. Gauls and Britons built the same kind of house, dressed in much the same costume, lived under institutions socially and politically of kindred character, and, if we are to accept the few fragmentary pen pictures found in the works of the Roman historians, presented in their physical characters the stamp of racial unity. "The Gauls," says Ammianus, "are almost all tall of stature, very fair, and red-haired, and horrible from the fierceness of their eyes, fond of strife, and haughtily insolent. A whole band of strangers would not endure one of them, aided in his brawl by his powerful and blue-eyed wife; especially when, with swollen neck and gnashing teeth, poising her huge white arms, she begins, joining kicks to blows, to put forth her fists like stones from twisted strings of a catapult. Most of their voices are terrific and threatening, as well when they are quiet as when they are angry. All ages are thought fit for war, and an old man is led out to be armed with the same vigour of heart as the man in his prime, with limbs hardened by cold and continued labour, and a contempt of many even real dangers. None of them are known—like those who in Italy are called in joke Marci—to cut off their thumbs through fear of serving in war. They are as a nation very fond of wine, and invent many drinks resembling it [probably, Prichard has suggested, cider, ale, and mead], and some of the poorer sort wander about with their senses quite blunted by continued intoxication." The discriminating reader will recognise the justice of this picture—*mutatis mutandis*—after having witnessed one or two faction fights, or passed through the Celtic quarter of any large city on a more than usually lively Saturday night. This red-haired, or at least fair-haired characteristic of the

* "Vita Agricole," xi.

ancient Celts, has been repeatedly noticed. All of the ancient writers refer to it, and in the Irish chronicles—of a much later date, of course, than those of the Romans—this yellow or white-headed physical trait of the Celt is often mentioned. The Highlanders at the Court of Malcolm III. (1057) are described as red-haired, and at the time the story of the Firbolg kings was written white hair, we are told, was the most marked characteristic of the Irish tribesmen. Yet, as Dr. Prichard long ago pointed out, the Scots as well as the Irish have forfeited their right to be described as yellow-haired. Black locks are as common in the Highlands of Scotland and in Western Ireland as red ones, and, as we shall see presently, the Germans, like the Gaels, are equally undeserving of the distinction of being a flaxen-haired race, which in earlier times they unquestionably were. In the northern districts of Scotland, exclusively inhabited by Celts, red hair may be noticed in every other person, but in other regions close at hand, more especially in the West Highlands, dark brown hair, grey eyes, and a complexion not very fair, are quite as common. “A man with coal-black and curled hair and black eyes looks singular in a group of the general complexion, and,” Dr. Prichard, who was the first writer to clearly prove the Aryan origin of the Celtic nations, remarks, “in places where the variation is frequent, the opposite variety also occurs, namely, a fair skin with red or yellow hair. It seems unquestionable that the complexion prevalent through the British Islands has greatly varied from that of all the original tribes who are known to have jointly constituted the population.”* For instance, the ancient Celts were a yellowish-haired race, as were also the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans. The Caledonians (p. 173) and the Gaels were fair and yellow-haired. But in time, by the admixture of other races, the colour had so changed that in the days of Strabo the Britons are described as taller than the Gauls, less yellow-haired, and more infirm and relaxed in their bodily fabric. The Germans, in towns especially, are no longer generally, or even by a majority, a fair-haired people, the original stock being at present found in the main among their kindred in Scandinavia. Food, changed modes of life, alteration in the climate, and intermixture of later colonists, have no doubt done much to cause this remarkable alteration. But, as I have already indicated, the chances are that the persistence of the ancient Neolithic blood, and its tendency to permeate the less vital men of sanguine temperament, may have had a great deal to do with this. The Welsh, though essentially Celts, seem to have taken the complexion of the Neolithians. The Bretons, though Celts also, are no longer good types of the Gaul, and in the Scottish Highlands, the districts in which the “red-headed Celt” is, for the most part, found, are invariably those to which foreign elements were least likely to penetrate. It was only after the invasion of the Romans—though the change might have been beginning when the Celtiberians were forming in Spain, and the same race, though not so fully recognised, were beginning to form in South Britain and Ireland by the amalgamation of the Celts with the Iberians already there—that the language began to get widely altered. Words were lost or transmogrified. Latin and French reacted on the Armorican of Brittany. Latin, English, and Norman French continued to creep into the Welsh. Yet to-day the two tongues are no more than “dialects” of the same speech.

* “The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations” (Latham’s Edition, 1857).

RELIGION : DRUIDISM.

The *religion* of the ancient Celts is, like their language, known only from a few brief references in the classics, and from the Latin inscriptions left behind in Gaul. Their three chief gods were worshipped with human sacrifices, but there were many others, the mere Latinised names of whom express less than nothing, for it is by no means certain that they are not later importations into the Gallic faith. "Mother goddesses," generally connected with particular localities, were favourite features in the Celtic worship of Gaul, and in an

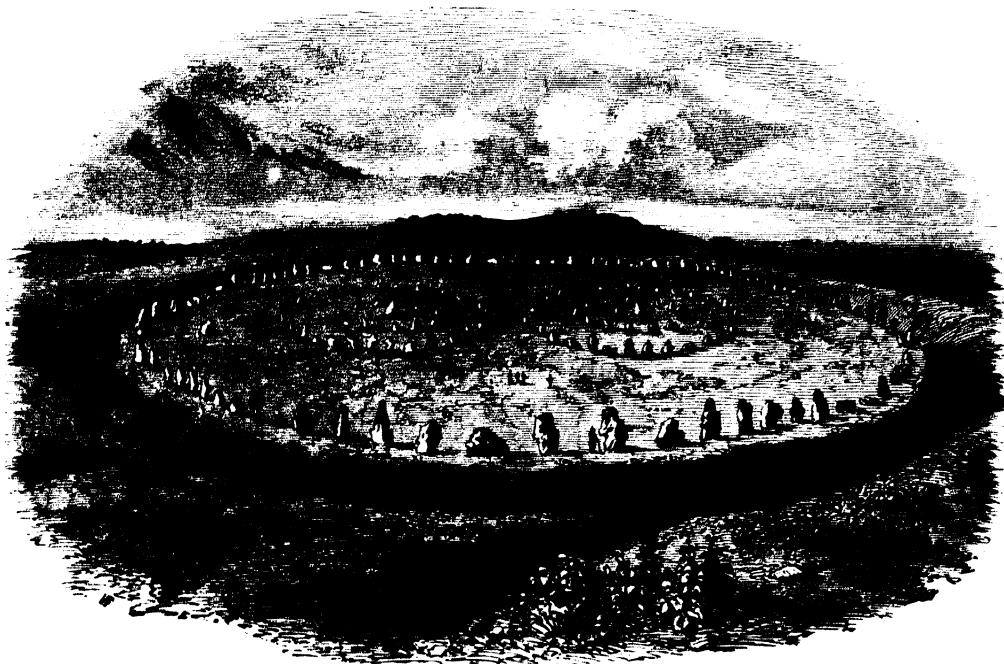


"DRUIDESSES" DANCING ROUND A MENHIR.

island off the Atlantic Coast we hear of an oracle superintended by nine maidens, who could cause storms, take the form of any animal, predict the future, and work miraculous cures. The mother goddesses were sometimes in the form of wood nymphs, and are probably the prototype of the fairies, who, motherly and maidenly at once, give plenty to their favourites, and played the part of prophetesses for whom the future held no secrets. The transmigration of souls was fully credited, and the Gauls had a lasting faith in the Dasii, or tutelary deities—or as the Orientals would call them, genii—though it is well known that each Celtic district had, as had the Irish, their own special deities, mythology, and rites.

But what especially distinguished the Celtic faith was the fact that it was administered by priests or Druids: hence the term Druidism, which is generally applied to the religious rites which they administered. This distinct priesthood proves that before the Celts came within the light of history they had attained a certain political elevation,

since in the earlier stages of Aryan civilisation the king and the priest are counted as one person. These Druids were the repositories of the knowledge and traditions of the people, and in Gaul and Britain constituted a powerful hierarchy with a supreme Pontiff at their head. Their rites were performed under oak-trees—hence their name (*derw*, an oak, *derwydd*, a Druid)—though we know very little of the mysteries which were enacted in these open-air temples. Modern writers have, for lack of something substantial to relate, invented an elaborate ritual, and contrived, with an immense display of misspent learning, to prove that Druidism had survived in Wales all through the Christian ages, and is still preserved by certain people who profess to follow the less compromising portions



SUPPOSED "DRUIDICAL" MONUMENTS AT AVEBURY, WILTSHIRE (RESTORED).

of its practice. This theory, which is of course very attractive to the imagination, has found many adherents, but perhaps Professor Sullivan does not treat it too harshly when he affirms that it is so baseless as to constitute its discussion a waste of time.

It is even doubtful whether the superhuman beings who appear in Welsh poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are to be regarded as genuine relics of the ancient Bardic faith. The Druids invoked the deities in favour of their friends and against their enemies, and performed weird incantations upon mounds or other elevated ground near the battle-field. By auguries from clouds, wind, smoke, the flight of birds, or other natural phenomena, they determined the time propitious for going to war or for performing other important acts of life. According to the elder Pliny, the Druids held the mistletoe, like anything else which grew on the oak, in the utmost reverence. In their tongue it was called, "All-heal," and its value was believed to be so great

that when found it was cut with a golden knife by a priest clad in a white robe, two white bulls being sacrificed in honour of the occasion. Other herbs were regarded of miraculous efficacy. But of all the Druidical charms, the "anguineum"—to use the Latin name—or "snake's egg" was the most important. This mythical object—which, however, Pliny professes to have seen—was fabled to arise out of the saliva and frothy sweat produced by a number of serpents writhing in an entangled mass, and to be tossed up in the air as soon as formed. The fortunate Druid who was able to catch it in his robe instantly fled with it at all the speed with which a swift horse ready saddled could carry him, pursued by the infuriated serpents, until a running stream stopped the chase. This "anguineum" would float against the current, even if encased in gold, and it is described as "about the size of a moderately large apple, with a cartilaginous rind studded with cavities, like those on the arms of a cuttle-fish."

Less undoubted was the sanctity in which the Druids were held. When the Romans, under Suetonius, invaded the Isle of "Mona," now very generally held to be the Isle of Anglesey, they were met by a band of Druids, who, with uplifted hands, poured out imprecations on the heads of the ruthless warriors, who, however, valued their threats so lightly that they cut down the sacred groves and put the Celts to flight. The order was kept up, not by hereditary right, but by the initiation of new members. Cæsar tells us that in his day all the people of any consequence in Gaul who were not nobles were Druids. Young men of the highest rank eagerly sought admission into the ranks of the latter, as they were, by reason of belonging to the sacred caste, exempted not only from service in the field, but also from payment of taxes. It is affirmed by some students of the early records that there were "Druidesses" also (p. 168) : most likely these were simply prophetic women, or perhaps a higher order of what came in time to be regarded as "witches." The Roman soldiers were not free from a certain dread of these weird women, for when Diocletian was unexpectedly declared Emperor he immediately recalled the prophecies of the "Druidess" who had foretold how he should wear the purple after having slain a wild boar, and immediately cut down Arrius Aper, his dreaded rival, exclaiming, "At length I have slain the fated wild boar." In the lives of the Irish saints the Druid appears as a kind of sorcerer in league with the demons of paganism, and only to be overcome by the priests, who accordingly were declared to possess supernatural powers greater than those exercised by the native soothsayers. The culture attained by the Druids must have been considerable, especially after they came in contact with the Latin civilisation, for if we are to believe Cæsar—and to him and Pliny we are indebted for about all we know regarding the ancient Celts and their religious hierarchy—they practised writing in the Greek character. Most of their lore was, however, communicated to the neophytes by verbal instruction during their long training, sometimes extending over twenty years. It is claimed that a people who could have reared the great megaliths so generally ascribed to the Druids, and formed circles like those of Callernish, Avebury (p. 169), and Stonehenge (pp. 152, 165), must have been advanced in mechanical skill. It is, however, by no means settled that these notable remains of the past had anything to do with the Druids, though they may be taken for certain as temples of some sort, round which the people buried their dead. It is still more reckless

to assume that the dolmens or cromlechs, the "menhir" or stone pillar (p. 168), and the rocking-stones (p. 133) were remnants of the same ecclesiastical order, and it is carrying theory to a point where hypothesis hardly begins to class the cairns so commonly met with in this and other countries as Druidical, or to set down every flat-topped stone as one of the altars on which Druidical fires were lighted. Dr. Macdonald, in his excellent summary of these ideas, properly stigmatises as insufficient the evidence upon which such sweeping conclusions have been founded, and raises a timely protest against every unexplained custom and almost every relic of Celtic antiquity being connected with Druidism, or against the superstitions which still linger in the ancient homes of the Celtic race being traced to the same comprehensive fountain-head. On the other hand, it is quite as hard to believe in the wild views of those who, like Jean Reynaud, would fain turn the whole system into an airy fabric of symbolism. At first, according to this ingenious writer, the Druids taught the immortality of the soul, and had as high conceptions of the true nature of God as the Jews themselves. In time, however, in order to reconcile to their faith the uneducated minds for whom the worship of subordinate deities had more attraction than the culture of the Unseen One, they introduced the belief in demigods of various descriptions. Hesus—M. Reynaud refers more especially to the Gauls—was the type of an absolutely Supreme Being, whose symbol was the oak, and the mistle-toe, when found growing on the oak, represented man, "a creature dependent on God for support, and yet with an individual existence of his own." As a natural consequence of this belief, human sacrifices were offered up to the Deity as an atonement for the sins of man, and the higher the sacrifice the more acceptable was the cruel gift presented to the Supreme Lord of Life. Druidism declined, according to the popular belief, owing to the hostility of the Roman conquerors. The Druids were not only the priests, but the leaders of the people, and hence, as ardent patriots, they were the uncompromising foes of the strangers on their country's soil. In consequence, therefore, of the trouble they gave to the military commanders, they were persecuted until their very order ceased to exist. Claudio*s*, we know, issued a decree for their suppression, and soon after this edict came into operation the political power of the priesthood was broken, especially in Gaul and South Britain. Amédee Thierry does not quite fall in with this theory. If we are to accept his views, the Druids, at the time of Cæsar's conquest, were so much in their decadence in Gaul, that the chief seat of their cultus had been transferred to Britain. The tyranny of the ecclesiastical order had incurred the jealousy of the nobles on the one hand, and of the people on the other, so that it only required the advent of the Roman conqueror to deprive them of even that remnant of power, which they had retained amid the struggles preceding the arrival of Cæsar's legions. M. Reynaud, however, rejects both of these explanations of the decline and fall of Druidism. According to the author of "*L'Esprit de la Gaule*," Druidism decayed and disappeared because it lacked the elements without which a system of religion can never be permanent. It was deficient in that love and charity so essential to the development of man. The creed might have aimed at the inculcation of both, but the machinery for carrying into effect the implied teachings of the priests was not prescribed. It therefore lingered on, more or less powerful, until Christianity appeared, and afforded a more soothing faith for the ancient followers

of Druidism, which did not, however, die, till it was able to hand over to the nation the idea of the oneness of God which it had preserved throughout all the revolutions of time. How far this theory is consistent with known facts it is unnecessary to discuss, and in any case the data on which it is based are too many and too intricate to find a place in these pages. It has received the support of several judicious writers, in every case, however, of that type of mind likely to be attracted by an explanation of the ancient Celtic faith, which so appeals to the philosophical side of the intellect. Neo-Druidism we have already mentioned (p. 169). This system, it is maintained by Herbert, Davis, and their school, was a revival of the old faith after its destruction as a system, in which the truths of Christianity were largely mixed with the rites of Mithras, the Sun God of the Persians, and has survived in Wales to the present day.* But there is no ground, further than a lively imagination, and a free interpretation of what are at best very dubious authorities, for a theory which has captivated many people, and flatters most adroitly the patriotism, of a race who, like the Welsh, can take a pride in the history of their country, without at the same time regarding this as synonymous with hostility to the Government which they have accepted. It is unquestionable, however, that the Druidical system was one of "elaborate regulation, of stringent discipline."

CULTURE OF THE CELTS.

There are no sound data for accepting the popular belief that the Britons when Cæsar landed were barely one remove from savagery. Compared with the cultured Romans,

they were unquestionably barbarous, but their barbarism was tempered by a certain culture which had been operating on the people for hundreds of years before the arrival of the Latin legions. The country was well peopled, full of houses, brass and gold money was used, and iron rings of a certain weight were employed in barter. The men of Kent, being nearest to Gaul, and therefore accustomed to mingle with their Continental neighbours, were in most respects the equal of the Gauls in civilisation. In the interior the majority of the people were ignorant or neglectful of tillage, living on the flesh and milk of their cattle, and clothing themselves in their skins, as did the people on the other side of the Channel. Their social observances were rude, and, if we are to believe Cæsar, the marriage rite was of the most primitive description, something very like a community of wives prevailing in certain regions at least. In battle they were courageous. They could manœuvre with cavalry, and constructed a kind of chariot, which did such terrible execution among the invaders that Cæsar expressly remarks, "Our heavy-armed legions were no match for such an enemy." Indeed, so fierce and obstinate were the Britons, that, had their capacity for union and tribal cohesion been equal to their bravery and energy, they might

* Davis: "Mythology and Rites of the British Druids" (1809); Herbert: "Essay on the Neo-Druidic Heresy" (*Britannia*, Part I., 1836), and Macdonald's treatise in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol vii., p. 477.



FLINT "CELT."

(After Borlase.)

easily have annihilated the Romans. But in those days, as ever since, the Celt was entirely deficient in the power of uniting for a common end. Every petty chief insisted on being his own master, and fighting for his own hand. The result was that, attacking the common



CALEDONIANS.

enemy singly, they were defeated piecemeal by a disciplined force, every portion of which acted in unison, as if it had been a machine. This is the account of Tacitus, who tells us that in the time of Agricola, nearly one hundred and forty years after Caesar's invasion, the Britons, though conquered, were not disheartened; "they were reduced to obedience,

though not to bondage." Cæsar was master of the sea-shore only, and though his successors—Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman—gradually reduced the tribes in the other parts of the island, it is within but recent times that the Celts of Northern Scotland can be said to have fully submitted to the rule of any master except their own tribal chiefs. Their form of rule was monarchical. There were many "kings," who, we may take it, were about as high in rank as the monarchs who bear a similar title in the Bight of Benin, or who lord it over a few followers on the western shores of America. The popular voice, and the influence of the Druidic priesthood, tempered, however, the despotism of the sovereign, so that, except the obligation of following their liege lords to battle, the ancient Celts were more independent than the villeins in a later stage of English political life were of their superiors. The Briton's culture, it is true, was not high. Compared with that of the Romans it was extremely low, and viewed in the light of our times it might possibly be termed barbarous to the verge of savagery. But they cultivated many of the arts of peace. They were traders, "fond of strangers," working in metals, coiners of money, and builders of houses. They lived in entrenched towns and villages, often, as in the case of Cassivelaunus's capital, admirably defended, and so gigantic that many of the fortified camps which they used exist to this day in a wonderful condition of preservation. Dr. Nicholas, who has so industriously analysed all the existing sources of information regarding the British Celts, will also adduce the "colossal, though rude and mysterious, temples" in which they worshipped as a proof of the degree of culture to which they had attained. But these megaliths, like Stonehenge, and the various "rude stone monuments" (pp. 133, 165) which are usually ascribed to them, are, as has been already hinted, by no means conclusively theirs, for they are found from Northern Europe over Northern Africa to India, in regions where the Celt never penetrated, and are now generally regarded as of a date long prior to the advent of the Celts into Europe. Pottery, in the form of drinking-cups, incense dishes, cinerary urns, often of graceful forms, are found in their graves, and the bossed shields, and the beautiful golden breastplate, embossed with elegant figuring, found near Mold, and now in the British Museum, are proofs of the extent to which the arts had prevailed amongst them. Their bronze spear-heads were tasteful in design and manufacture, and many of the weapons which have been deposited by the side of their dead bear the impress of skill in handicraft which the men of our times might be proud of possessing. The "savages painted with woad"—to quote the schoolboy's summary of the mental, moral, and physical characteristics of his ancestors—traded with the Continent long before they knew the Roman yoke, exporting from their own islands gold, iron, silver, corn, cattle, skins, fleeces, and dogs, and bringing back in return for these articles ivory, bridles, gold charms, amber cups, drinking glasses, and perhaps the gold collars which they were so fond of wearing round their neck and arms, and which were at a later period given as prizes of skill and valour. To this day, Dr. Nicholas tells us, the phrase, *dwynd y dorch* ("to win the torque"), is to be heard in Wales as the equivalent for winning any prize, although the rings themselves have long ago disappeared, and the historic allusion is not comprehended. The Gaul, all the Roman historians agree, was a barbarian who enjoyed many of the comforts and some of the elegancies of life. He ate at a table in which suitable excavations served the purpose of dishes, sat upon trusses of hay or

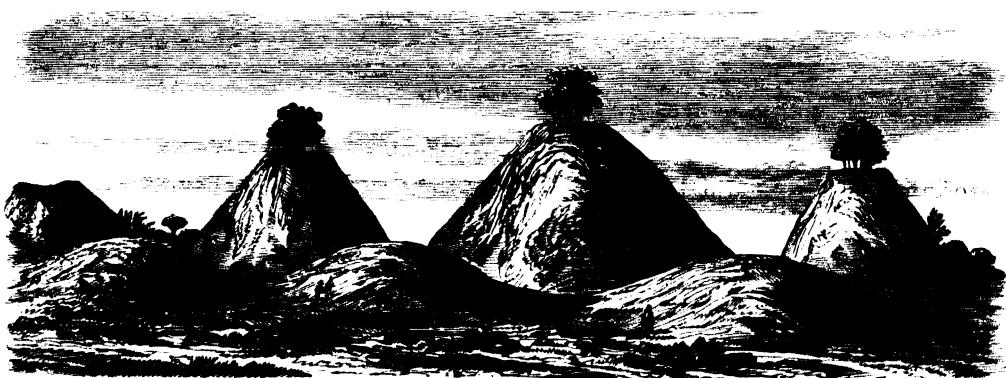
straw, and slept in press bedsteads, similar, it is said, to those still met with in the remoter parts of Brittany and Savoy. The beauty of their women was proverbial, and they contrived to heighten the natural whiteness of their skin by bathing in the foam of beer or in chalk dissolved in vinegar. Their eyebrows were heightened with soot or *orphi*, a liquid extracted from a fish—most probably the ink of the cuttle-fish—while their cheeks were rouged with vermillion and their hair bleached with lime. Men and women of ordinary rank were simply buried with their arms, ornaments, or domestic utensils, but the body of a chief was burnt on a pile of resinous wood, along with his weapons, his dog, his horse, and sometimes his slaves. Then the bones and ashes were placed in an earthenware urn, and deposited beneath a tumulus or a funeral pile. Altogether, the Celts at the opening of the Christian era were, if a rude people, one full of intellectual activity, sharp-witted—as they still are—and endowed with that reckless courage which to this day is the birthright of their race.

DECADENCE OF THE CELTS.

The incapacity of the Celtic races for union rendered them incapable of bearing the assault of the conqueror. So long as no people endowed with the qualities in which they were deficient appeared they lived on in their old fashion, broken up into endless septs, each chief jealous of, and warring with the others, incapable of sinking tribal hatreds for the common good, and thus affording an easy prey to the armies which chose to crush them in detail. The Gauls, whom the Romans had found such formidable enemies, and who once beset even Rome itself, were soon conquered little by little, until “all Gaul” became so Romanised that the country is at present a Latin-speaking one, and, except in Brittany, where the Celtic element preponderates, is more Latin in blood than it is Celtic. The Gauls of Asia Minor, to whose descendants, the Galatians, Paul wrote his Epistle, were for a long time very troublesome to the Empire. But they also had in turn to submit, and their country became a province of the Roman domain, which it was for more than a quarter of a century prior to the birth of Christ. The Britons were never quite subdued by the Romans. Those in the south, however, became Latinised to a certain extent, though, unlike the Gauls, they did not, except very partially, accept the Latin tongue as their every-day mode of speech. This is proved by the purity of the Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican. But as late as the time of Agricola the Caledonians, a branch of the Celtic race, were so persistently annoying that the Emperor had to secure his new province from the inroads of these unsubdued Celts of the North, by building a fortified wall across the Scottish Lowlands, from the Forth to the Clyde; and at a later date so bold were their incursions, that another line of defence had to be raised between the Solway and the Tyne, huge fragments, and endless other relics still remaining to attest the indomitable prowess of the northern Celts, who may be regarded as having been practically their own masters until after the general disarmament which followed the Jacobite rising of 1745.

The southern Britons were, however, so much Romanised that the pagan Angles and Saxons, who conquered them after the retreat of the Romans to defend the home-lying

portions of the crumbling Empire, called them Welsh, which in the old Teutonic tongue meant any people speaking a language of Latin origin. But there is no ground for asserting, as Freeman and Green have done, that the Britons were exterminated by the Saxons, those who fled into Wales and other remote parts alone excepted. In all likelihood, reasoning from analogy, and the absence of any authority worthy of the name, the conquerors and the conquered amalgamated, and in time became one people. Hence, though Celtic place names are common over a large part of the Lowlands of Scotland and the greater portion of England, in those districts the Celtic speech and the Celtic people, in name, at least, are extinct. In all this region, nevertheless, as Professor Huxley, viewing the question more from an anthropological than a philological point of view, remarks, "the Teutonic dialects have overpowered the pre-existing forms of speech, but the people are vastly less 'Teutonic' than their speech. It is, indeed, as absurd to speak of the



"DANISH" TUMULI OR MOUNDS NEAR ASHDOWN, ESSEX.

present inhabitants of Britain as an 'Anglo-Saxon people,' as it is to describe the French people as a 'Latin' race because they speak a language which is in the main derived from Latin."* The "English" are, therefore, descended quite as much from the Celts as from the Angles, Saxons, and Danes—in other words, the Teutons, who possessed their land—the "sheer dispossession and slaughter," and the "extermination of the Britons" being, nearly every ethnologist is now of belief, an entire misapprehension of the true condition of affairs.

All of the Celts, however, did not disappear. In Cornwall many found a refuge, and there lived their life for a time under their native princes. Some fled to the mountains of Cumberland, where in time they were Scandanavized by inroads of Danes and Norwegians, and lost their old speech.† But the majority, who declined to put their necks under the Saxon yoke, retreated into Wales, where for more than six hundred years they lived as an independent community under their own sovereigns. These have since then been universally known as the Welsh, albeit there is in this language as now spoken very little Latin intermixture; but they themselves prefer to be known as Cymry (*cyn*, "with," *bro*,

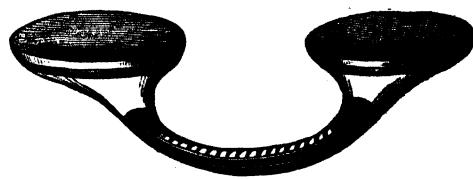
* Huxley: "Critiques and Addresses" (1873), pp. 176, 177; Rhys: "Celtic Britain" (1880).

† Sullivan: "Cumberland and Westmoreland the People, Dialect, Superstitions, and Customs" (1857), p. 54.

"land," that is, those having a common country), which, however, has nothing to do with Cimbri and Cimmerii, with whom some fanciful philologists have been unable to resist the temptation to connect it. In the fourth century some of the Britons went over and joined their kindred in Brittany, which, under its own dukes, maintained a modified independence until the year 1500. The Caledonians, who gave such trouble to the Roman generals, seem to have been known after the third century as Scots and Picts.

Ireland was a stronghold of the Celts up to a still later period, though we know little about it until the year 460, when the inhabitants were converted to Christianity. The next four centuries were distinguished ones in the history of that island. Piety and learning flourished at home, and some of the finest poems, theological treatises, and historical works, date from that period. Irish missionaries founded monasteries from the Hebrides to Iceland, rearing in the course of their pious zeal such magnificent fanes as those of Iona and St. Gall, and even penetrating Germany as far as Würzburg, Ratisbon, and Salzburg, where bishops of their race exercised an important influence in the religious revolution then at work among the Teutons. Politically, however, the Irish were never united. There were many petty princes, but no great king. Hence, when those "Black Heathens,"* the Danes, in their hungry maraudings landed on the Irish shore, the Erse tribes and "kings" could offer no effective resistance to these piratical warriors, who founded various Scandinavian sovereignties at Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other coast-lying towns, nowhere, except in the vicinity of Dublin, being able or caring to extend their rule for any distance inland. The Northern corsairs introduced the advantages of commerce into Ireland, which, owing to its pastoral character, possessed few opportunities for this stimulus to civilisation. The Norse towns in time became peopled by a mixed race, largely supplemented by renegade Irish, who were known as "Gallgoedel," or foreign Irish, and in the North, which they visited in the course of their piratical expeditions, as "Vikingr Scotar." But by the endless conflicts between the Scandinavians and the natives the power of both had become so attenuated that when the English landed, and put an end to these civil wars, by ending the rule of the native princes, the country had wofully lapsed from its ancient prosperity. Then, if we are to accept the verdict of the historians, who date from the other side of the Irish Sea, the ruin of "Eirinn" was completed. The Saxon made a desert and called it peace.

The Manxmen held out, under Welsh, Scottish, Norse, and English princes in turn, until the year 1344, when their island passed under the sceptre of the English kings. Cornwall formed part of the British (Celtic) kingdom of Damnonia, which remained almost unbroken in spite of the Saxon assaults, until the reign of Ine of Wessex. Little by little after that



ORNAMENT OF GOLD, FOUND IN IRELAND.

* The invaders were known as Dub-gaill (the black foreigners), and Find-gaill (the fair foreigners), the first-mentioned name being applied to the Danes, probably owing to the Lapps and Finns they brought in their train, the second being given to the Norwegians. At first these marauders quarrelled with each other; but after a time they made common cause against the Irish, and, intermingling with the natives, gave origin to a mixed race who, like their fathers, took to piracy, and to a great extent relapsed into paganism.

day the Cornish Celts had to narrow their boundaries, until the Tamar was the march between them and the Saxons of Devon. West Wales, as the Damnonian kingdom was called, retained at that period its old line of chiefs, though, as might be expected, the waning monarchs of Cornwall lived under some kind of subjection to the kings of Wessex as their suzerains. Conan, the British bishop, had, by the time Athelstane ascended the Saxon throne, submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and soon after the nominal independence of the princes of Cornwall had ceased, for in the Domesday Book there is no trace of their chiefs, and the landowners bear Saxon names, although at that period Cornish was most likely the language of the entire west of England. Cornwall was no longer a kingdom, but it has never ceased since the time William of Normandy bestowed most part of it on his half-brother Robert of Mortain, to be an appanage of royalty. It was always regarded, as Mr. Freeman puts it, as an earldom and duchy, too powerful to be trusted in the hands of any but men closely akin to the reigning house; and, as all the world knows, Cornwall, like the other great Celtic section of England, furnishes a title to the heir-apparent, and—what Wales does not do—a large portion of his revenue also.

THE CELTIC CHARACTER.

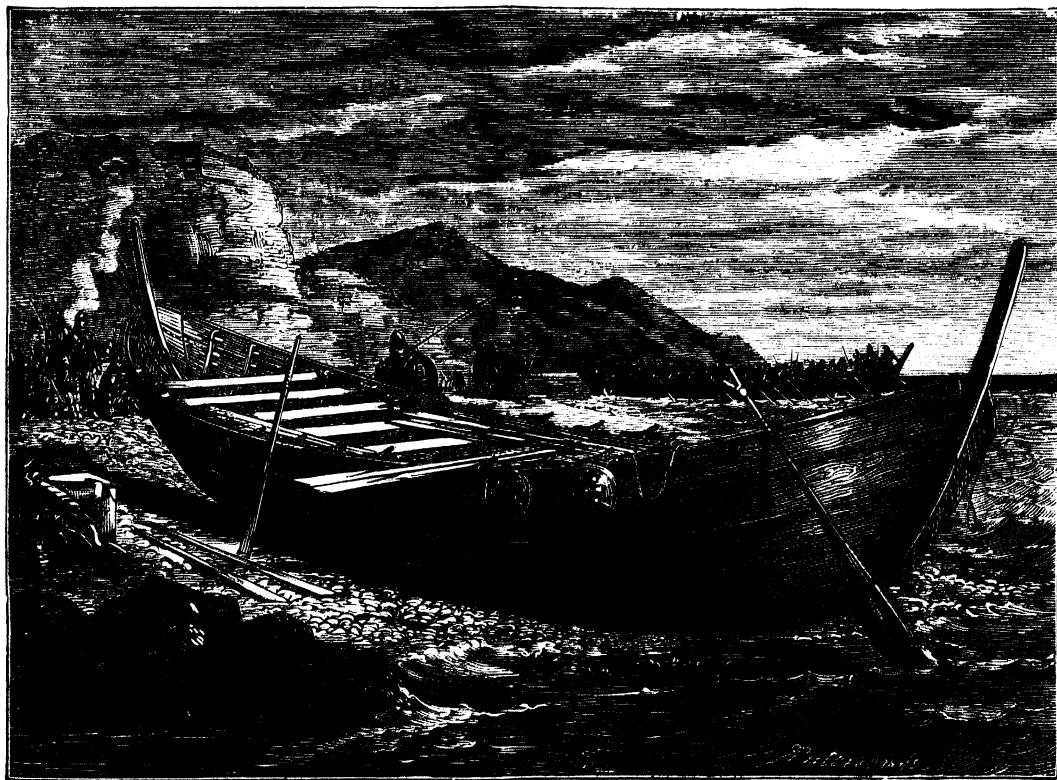
Thus in less than 1,500 years after coming in contact with the dominant Romans and Teutons, the Celts ceased to be the ruling race in any land, and long before the close of that period they existed as their own masters only in isolated septs here and there, unless, indeed, we except the tribes of the Scottish Highlands and Islands which, though nominally subject to the Scottish kings, and afterwards to those of Great Britain, were in reality independent of either until the construction of roads enabled the English dragoons to penetrate their fastnesses. Even yet they are not quite conquered. The Irish Celt is in a condition of chronic protest against the laws under which he is forced to live, and it requires only such an agitation as that of the northern crofters in 1884–5, to show that perfect acquiescence in the rule of the Saxon is not universal in the regions which the Celt regards as his own. The qualities of mind which the race possess are fitted for sudden dashes, but not for long-sustained efforts, such as those demanded of a line of conquerors, colonists, and rulers of men. They are, as they were in the days of Tacitus, “good soldiers, but bad subjects.” The restless activity which the early Irish missionaries displayed is still evinced by the modern Celt, who is foremost in every field where eager dash and mental mercurialism avail more than sober judgment and dull plodding ways. But when it comes to capacity for political organisation, the Celt has little chance with the Saxon. He can conquer a country, if wild courage can accomplish this, and, if need be, write its ~~ballads~~; but when it comes to model its laws, sink private opinion in the common sense of the meeting, and individual hobbies for the general good, the Celt is apt to prove utterly impracticable. The imagination of the race is too lively, their enthusiasm too unballasted by discretion, to allow them to calmly deliberate and weigh every argument and proposal with regard to its influence on the future. Polite by nature, the politeness of the Celt is apt to diverge into insincerity, and the very quickness of imagination with which he is endowed sometimes makes it more difficult for him than for the duller Saxon

to hold in the progress of a narrative, or in the expression of an opinion, to the prosaic line of unembroidered truth. Prudence is his weakest point, thrift not his strongest, and when the Celt is poorest, and seemingly the farthest away from prosperity, then it is that his spirits are highest, and his proverbial wit most ready to effervesce. At home, on a dietary of potatoes, the Irishman, if left alone, is the most contented of men ; in England he is not quite so amiable ; while in America the least gleam of success tends to turn the man, who on this side of the Atlantic was a gentleman by nature, and a humorist in spite of himself, into a smileless soul, who seems oppressed with a continual dread lest he should be betrayed into a civility to the stranger with whom he comes in contact. He can bear adversity, as many men can, but good-fortune is too much for his badly-balanced mind. There are plenty of exceptions, but that this is the rule the unbiased student of the race finds it impossible to deny. Quick to anger and easily pacified, a Celt is the best, but the most uncertain of friends, and the worst of enemies, so long as the fit is upon him, though even then his vengeance may often be diverted into sudden goodwill by a trifling incident, which would have little influence in shunting the less fickle Saxon into another line of thought. Full of self-confidence, and assurance which is not always modest, he is unstable as water, and has, therefore, not prevailed, while a race less highly gifted has ousted him everywhere from his ancient heritage, facts very patent to any one who chooses to observe the ample remnants of the Celtic races which we have amongst us.

But if the fickle Celt, who is unable to devise and carry into effect those measures essential to national unity, and whose mind is so volatile that it is hard to judge the sequence of his actions by the same laws which apply to those of other people, has lost empire, he rules in many directions and over a wider area than he would had he retained his national existence. The Irish, like the Scottish Celts—and, we might add, in a lesser degree the Welsh and the Cornish—have spread into every land, and influenced the people of every country among whom they have settled. In America, and especially in the United States, they run rivalry with the Teutons from Germany and Scandinavia in supplying the greatest number of immigrants. As yet they have not ceased to be a separate body in the nation, but in time they will amalgamate with the rest of the population, and will form—as they have formed already—a race superior to that of which they are the ethnic amalgam. To the sturdy good sense, manly self-reliance, quiet resolution, natural aptitude for self-government and organisation, which characterise the one, are added the quick intellect, the vivid imagination, the warm feelings, the poetical susceptibilities, and the genuine refinement of manner which is rarely acquired by the Teuton, but comes as a gift of nature to the Celt. He has never yet given a President to the great Republic, but that restless energy of his serves to place many a governor in power, and to secure for his race more than their fair share of “the offices” which are to be obtained through the votes of a people who love to vote early and, if not checked in their unbounded enthusiasm for a favourite candidate, often also. In Canada some of the leading men are of Celtic origin, and in every place of dignity and influence the Scottish Gael, or his Irish cousin, may be found. Of Australia the same may be said. Prime Ministers of the Celtic race are quite as common as Prime Ministers of Saxon origin, and in the legislatures there, as in all of the other English colonies, and the United States, men of Celtic blood are found in numbers disproportionate to that of the people to whom they belong. In

every profession, in every department of intellectual activity, the Celt is predominant. His name stands high on the roll of valour; he is the pick of the rank and file. Generals and admirals have been supplied by the Highlands of Scotland and all parts of Ireland in great numbers to the national service, and if the Celt no longer sits on a throne—though a Celt not long since presided over the destinies of France—he is the power behind the throne, which in a constitutional monarchy is greater than the throne itself.

Nor is the far-spreading influence of the Celt limited to England and its colonies,*



ANCIENT DANISH "VIKING SHIP."

or to France and its colonies. In the Argentine Republic he is beginning to form a notable element in the population. In Chili, in Peru, in Uruguay, and in Mexico, men of Irish name and race occupy a great place in history, or in the making of the events which are every day maturing into history.† A legion, which was largely Celtic, helped to win independence for Venezuela, and in Spain the men of Celtic names have not been the least famous of her sons in council and in camp. In brief, there is scarcely a region of the earth into which this people, without a recognised nationality, have not spread, and which they have not influenced. As poets and *savants*, painters and historians, soldiers and sailors, travellers, journalists, and *littérateurs*, the Celt is always to the front, and it is only when, through a

* Davin: "The Irishman in Canada" (1878).

† Mulhall: "The English in South America" (1877).

mistaken patriotism, he clings to his ancient tongue without learning that without which it is impossible that he can compete on equal terms with those around him, that he fails to make his mark still more deeply on the world's history. In America and in our colonies he rubs off many of his less admirable characteristics. But gregariousness is a trait of the Celt which makes it difficult for him to lose himself entirely in the Saxon sea. He is too "clannish." He loves to make a new Ireland or a fresh Islay on the other side of the Atlantic, or on this side of the Tweed. Whole districts in Canada are as much Gaelic



WELSH MOORLAND COTTAGES.

as the West Highlands ; until early in this century Gaelic was heard in six counties of North Carolina, and if other tracts of the United States do not speak Erse, it is simply because the Irishman who at home is consumed with an insatiable appetite for land ceases to have that craving the moment he arrives in a country where he can have a farm for the asking.

But it is not the less true that Saxon or other non-Celtic persons who take up their residence in Ireland or among the Irish are apt in time to become—as has become the Catholic, though Teutonic, Barony of Forth in Wexford—*Hiberniores ipsis Hibernicis*. It is, therefore, clear that if the Celt has lost the semblance of power, he has managed to keep its reality. It is, indeed, doubtful whether, by becoming a member of a greater nationality than that which any Celtic people ever reared, he has not gained more than he has lost by being compelled to merge

his aspirations in a circle less parochially patriotic. The Ogam character no Irishman would, we fancy, care to resume, any more than a Scandinavian hankers after the vanished runes. The Gaulish literature might have been interesting, but—we fancy—the best of it was incomparably inferior to the worst of that which sprang from the Latinised Gauls. The Irish manuscripts in existence are admirable—no doubt—but the “Annals of the Four Masters,” and “The Book of Kells,” are more than surpassed by the many historical works which the modern Irishman has written in the Saxon tongue, and unquestionably Thomas Moore was a better poet than Eochad O’Flin; while those portions of Ossian, which Macpherson fabricated are, as an impartial critic is free to confess, rather better than the traditional rhapsodies which are allowed to be of native origin, or even—*pace* Professor Blackie—than the poems of Donald Bann and Rob Donn. The same verdict may be passed on Welsh literature, though some of the songs which the struggle between them and the English gave rise to are worthy of a high place in poetry. The Cornish literature is for the most part limited to a few Passion plays of the fourteenth century. The printing press no doubt has had an important bearing on the mental activity of the Celt before and after its introduction. But neither the modern Welsh, nor the Highlanders, nor the Irish display great literary energy, their literature being, for the most part, limited to translations, religious books, and journals. Indeed, a fear is often expressed that unless artificially kept alive by the foundation of University Chairs, and its enforced teaching in schools, the Celtic language, which offers so little in the way of material advantage to the cultivator, will before long become extinct. From a philological point of view this would be unfortunate, though, as science has by this time gained all it is ever likely to gain from the study of its different dialects, the result would be from almost any other aspect scarcely to be deplored.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MODERN CELTS: IRISH; GAELS; MANXMEN; WELSH; CORNISHMEN; BRETONS.

THE existing, that is, recognised Celts, are now only fragments, which have been swept into eddies of the world by the flood of Romans and Teutons which have swept over their original homes. Most of them have been more or less influenced by these successive waves of conquerors, and in some cases, though we may—as we shall in the few paragraphs which follow—endeavour to indicate their chief characteristics, it would be idle to describe their habits as we would those of separate peoples, their customs being in most cases the customs of the greater races among whom, or in contiguity to whom, they dwell. In trying to classify them history gives us some help, but still it is on a study of their languages that the main dependence is to be placed. Taking, therefore, all the facts at our disposal into consideration, the all but universal conclusion is that at present there are two great sections of the Celts, namely, the Gaelic and the Cymric. The first comprises the Erse of Ireland, the Gaels of the Highlands of Scotland, the

Manx of the Isle of Man. Under the second branch come the Welsh of Wales, the Armorican people of Brittany, and the Cornish Celts, whose tongue is now extinct. Under this head may of course also come the old Gaulish, but it is long ago vanished out of the land, and need not, except for philological purposes, trouble any one. The grounds on which this classification is founded may be seen by taking the words, "Give us this day our daily bread" in Irish, Gaelic, and Welsh. In the first it is, "Ar narán laéathamhail tabhair dhuinn a riu;" in the second, "Tabhair dhuin an diugh ar n'aran laitheil;" and the third, "Dyro i ni heddyw ein bara beunyddiol," which is very different. Here, again, is the same sentence, the first line Armorican, the second Welsh:—

"Ro deomp bep deiz hor bara pemdeziec."

"Rho i ni bob dydd ein bara beunyddiol."

Here, again, is a short sentence in Cornish, with its equivalent in Welsh:—

"Pan welas na ylly delyffre."

"Pan welodd na allai draddodi."

Finally, to show how the Armorican, or some call it Brezonek, now only spoken in Brittany, has been corrupted by French, the following sentence may be quoted: "*Mes araog an holl draouze hei a lakaio o daouarn warnoc'h hag o persecuto, o livra, ac' hanoch d'ar sinagogou, hag o lakaad ac'hanoch'h, er prizonion, hag e veot caset rouaned ha gouarnerien.*"

The slightest examination of these examples will show that all the six divisions of modern Celtic—and we have no reason for asserting, if we except the old Gaulish (which we know solely from about a dozen inscriptions and a few words in the classical writers), that there were ever any more—are nearly related to each other. They are dialects, not separate languages—the Cornish coming nearest to the Welsh, or Cymraeg, and next to it the Armorican. The Irish have separated farthest from the Cymraeg type, and as the Manxmen and the Gaels of Scotland are their near kindred, the same statement applies to them.*

The Gaelic, or Gaedhelic division, has entirely vanished from the Continent, but M. Broca considers that the Walloons and other communities in Belgium and North France, now partly of Romance, partly of Teutonic speech, may represent them. Again, Cæsar's Celtæ are at present represented by the Savoyards, Auvergnats, and Low Bretons, who use a Romanic tongue. Celtic ethnology is, however, a hopeless maze, and is made still more puzzling by the craze for applying fresh names to old people, and using a title familiar in one significance, in another entirely different. It is, moreover, difficult, to see how a swarthy, squat, broad-headed people like the Savoyards and Auvergnats can be close akin to the Walloons, who are tall, fair-haired and blue-eyed, unless, indeed, we suppose them to have been Teutonised long before the dawn of history. Again, though the Gaedhelic is not the present speech of Wales, it is said to have preceded the Cymraeg, and though the Cornish was a Cymric dialect the other branch was also there, and in Devonshire well into the sixth century.† The difference of the Celts in complexion has

* Nicholas: "The Pedigree of the English People," pp. 48, 49.

† Rhys: "Celtic Britain," p. 211; Broca in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, vol. ii., p. 576, &c.

already been noticed (p. 167). It is certainly remarkable, considering the common origin of the people, unless we agree with the late Dr. Angus Smith, who, after many years' study of the Celts and their language, came, at the close of his life, to the conclusion that they were not in any degree a pure-blooded race, but a mixture of various races. Indeed, he regarded them as more mixed than the Western races, and containing—which we must allow—types from the earliest times, as well as those who came after them, and he considered that their language was in part a remnant of the pre-Celtic tongues which were



SCULPTURED CROSS AT MONASTERABOICE, IRELAND.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Lawrence, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin.)

overpowered by the true Celtic. No general description, Dr. Smith believed, would apply to all the branches of the family. The Welsh and the Irish are remarkably different in height, in weight, in expression of countenance, as well as in character. In South Wales brunette complexions and black eyes are common, as they are in Brittany, and as they were in the times of Tacitus, while in many parts of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland red or sandy hair is the prevailing colour. Again, in Cornwall and North Wales, Celts of pure blood—or blood as pure as we are likely to get in these islands—are not distinguished from Hanoverians or Holsteiners. In religion also there is no prevailing Celtic cultus. The Celts are fervent in whatever they take to. Hence the Armorican of Brittany (that is, the Breton) and the Irishman are just as uncompromising Roman Catholics as the Welsh, and many of the Highlanders of Scotland, are Protestants. However, to

sum up all that has been ascertained, or at least generally allowed, regarding the average physical characteristics of these Celts, it may be said that they are for the most part rather broad-headed, of great cranial capacity, middle sized, generally vigorous in constitution, and rather short-sighted, large-chinned, round-faced, with great naso-



THE ROUND TOWER, KILLALA, IRELAND.

frontal depression, fresh-coloured complexion, neck rather short, shoulders and chest broad, auburn hair, and eyes with grey iris—though these typical eyes are not often seen—and with a dry, nervous temperament. It may, however, have happened that more than one race was fused into this type, for community of language does not necessarily imply community of race, and the Romans applied the term Celt very vaguely to almost any people whose exact relationship they did not understand. As the Celtic people of France and England have to so great an extent become an integral portion of the other races around

them, we shall not risk confusion for the sake of system, by describing their ways of life as if they were separate peoples. However, before leaving them—to return to them where the ethnology of France and Great Britain is treated of—we may say a few words about the present range of the condition of the different Celtic remnants indicated in the preceding pages.

THE IRISH CELTS.

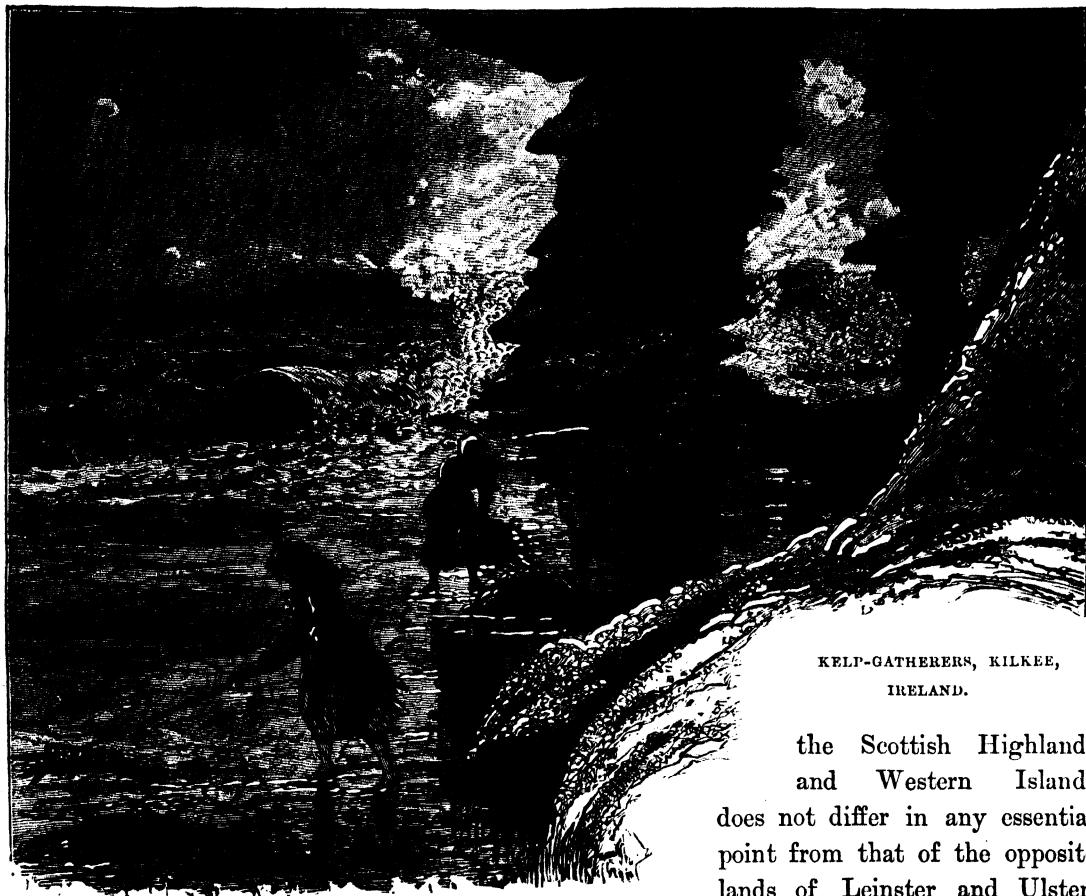
The majority of the people of Ireland are Celts, the “Englishry” occupying a comparatively small portion of the northern and eastern sections of the island, and the inhabitants of these regions, when of Saxon stock, are all comparatively recent colonists. There is, of course, not to take into account the legends of prehistoric people, a good deal of Scandinavian blood in the portions settled by the Northmen (p. 177). These ethnological features of Ireland are, of course, due to its position. The western portion, facing the Atlantic, and the southern being at a long distance from any other country, were entirely left to the aborigines. But when invaders landed from England, they, as a matter of course, seized on the eastern shore, that is to say, on the portion nearest the country from whence they had set out. The same law applies to a considerable extent to the Scandinavian marauders. The settlement of the north of Ireland by Scottish colonists was due to special provisions made by different English sovereigns, in order to re-people the devastated lands of the native tribes, and in later times the sale of encumbered estates has done much to plant “foreigners” in different parts of the country. At the Reformation most of the English settlers adopted Protestantism, and the later arrivals have been nearly all of the same faith. The Celtic people, on the other hand, remained true to the Latin Church. But many places within the Irish “pale,” which had been settled before the Reformation, remained staunch to the ancient creed, and now, though of Teutonic blood, the people are as much identified with the national aspirations and prejudices as are the Celts, by whom they are surrounded, the influence of the Celt upon other races being thus remarkably illustrated (p. 181). In modern times the Erse tongue is spoken, as their sole language, only by the poorest and least-educated of the population. In Connaught, Munster, the remoter parts of Ulster, the south of Leinster, and in the islands off the west coast, it is still the every-day speech of the rural classes, many of whom are entirely unacquainted with English; and so widely do the sub-dialects of Erse differ that the people of one district have often some difficulty in understanding those of a more distant section. Professorships of the Irish language exist in several of the universities; but it is cultivated mainly as a philological study, and for the sake of the ancient literature which it embalms. As a speech it is not growing, the difficulty of any one not familiar with English making his way either in or out of Ireland acting as a serious obstacle in the way of the young people cherishing it. But the emigrants who leave for America and Australia take it with them, and now and then poems and essays (of the ultra-patriotic order) appear in this expiring language. The second generation may still keep it alive, though it is hardly likely that out of the Erse districts of Ireland it will be much studied, except by scholars, since the necessity for speaking it will have ceased.

THE SCOTTISH GAEL.

In popular esteem the Gael is taken as the type of a Scot. His kilted dress is the "Scotch" dress, and his amusement the "Scotchman's" pastimes. In reality, as Macaulay so caustically remarked, it would be as correct for a Bostonian to dress in paint and wampum beads as for a Lowlander to array himself in a kilt; and it would not have been more ridiculous if President Cleveland had appeared at his inauguration in fringed leggings and mocassins, and armed with a tomahawk and scalping-knife, than if George IV., during his Court at Holyrood, had attired himself in the garb which was that of only a few half-civilised northern tribes, and, in the streets of Edinburgh, had, until very lately, been considered as the distinctive costume of cattle thieves and murderous marauders. The genius of Scott first invested the Scottish Celts with romantic attributes, while the lovely scenery of their country, and their own many good qualities, have succeeded in retaining the popularity they acquired after the publication of the "Waverley Novels." Still, the Highlanders are no more the "Scottish people" than the Sioux or the Chippeways are those of America. Yet in some respects they might claim to be called the Scottish nation, since they, of all the races inhabiting the northernmost part of Britain, are the only one which can be fairly described as natives. The other may be of a tolerably ancient date, but they are none of them so old as the Celts. Shetland and Orkney, and the county of Caithness, with most of the east coast nearest the Continent, are Scandinavian, while the greater portion of the Lowlands is Saxon, the people being in the main of the same race as those on the English side of the Border, the immigration in their case having spread from the south towards the north. The Celts, however, came from another direction, and are, therefore, though of the same kith and kin as the southern Celts, not offshoots from them, driven by war, or the necessities of grazing grounds, or plunder, to the remote isles and hilly country which they now inhabit.

As we find everywhere else, the Celtic-speaking area in Scotland is gradually diminishing. Pure Gaelic is now spoken only in the north-west of Scotland. To the west of a line curved to the east, extending from the Moray Firth to the mouth of the Clyde, it is spoken mixed with English, while all the south and east of Scotland is almost purely Teutonic, that is, English-speaking, though the dialects of the tongue vary considerably. Philologically, the Gaelic is nearest of all the Celtic dialects to the language spoken by the Irish. The difference, according to Mr. Skene, is "(1), partly in the *pronunciation*, where the accentuation of the language is different, and where that peculiar change in the initial consonant produced by the influence of the previous word, and termed by Irish grammarians 'eclipsis,' is unknown, except in the sibilant, where the vowel sounds are different, and there are even traces of a consonantal permutation; (2), partly in the *grammar*, where the Scottish Gaelic prefers the analytic form of the verb, and has no present tense, the old present being now used for the future, and the present formed by the auxiliary verb, where the plural of one class of the nouns is formed in a peculiar manner, resembling the Anglo-Saxon, and a different negative is used; (3), partly in the *idioms* of the language, where a greater preference is shown to express the idea by the use of substantives, and the verb is anxiously avoided; and (4), in the *vocabulary*, which varies to a considerable extent, where words now obsolete in Ireland are

still living words, and others are used in a different sense.” * It is, we think, most probable that these differences are not ancient, and do not enter into the organisation of the language, but are of comparatively modern date, and are of little more than provincial corruptions of the mother tongue of Ireland. The Irish must, therefore, be regarded as the parent tongue, Gaelic being Irish stripped of a few inflections, and Manx merely Gaelic with a few peculiar words, and disguised by a corrupt system of orthography. In brief, the language of



KELP-GATHERERS, KILKEE,
IRELAND.

the Scottish Highlands and Western Islands does not differ in any essential point from that of the opposite lands of Leinster and Ulster, bearing to it a clearer resemblance

than Low Dutch does to High German, or Danish to Swedish.† It is now generally admitted that the north of Ireland and the Celtic portions of Scotland were at an early period peopled by the same races. Mr. Skene will also contend that from the middle of the sixteenth century, the Irish literature and its cultivators exercised a remarkable influence on the Scottish Highlands. The Irish bards included the west Highlands in the school of which they were the heads. Many of the Highland “sennachies” were of Irish descent, and all of them resorted to Ireland as the centre

* Skene: “The Dean of Lismore’s Book” (1862): *Introduction*, pp. xiv., xv.; “Celtic Scotland” (1869).

† Richard Garnett: “Philological Essays” (1859), pp. 202, 204.

of the bardic literature in which it was their ambition to excel. Indeed, at that period culture of the lettered kind was almost unknown in the north of Scotland, so that insensibly the Highlands of that country became influenced by the language and literature of the opposite island, a belief which may be held, without at the same time denying that in



ST. CANICE'S STEPS, KILKENNY, IRELAND.

the rude vernacular of the country there were songs and tales which owed nothing to any foreign sources. Topography—the names of places—proves that the Celtic area in Scotland was at one time far more extensive than at present. Dr. McLauchlan is firmly of opinion that the Gaelic and the Cymric races (p. 182) long dwelt together, distinct and yet nearly related, the last mentioned possessing the region called Strathclyde, and the Gael enjoying his separate government, language, and laws in the Dalriadic kingdom of Argyll. The "Picts" occupied the north and east of Scotland, and, if they were not the Dalriadic Scots, were

closely related to them. For centuries Pict warred with Scot, and Scot with Pict, until, in 843, the Picts were conquered by Kenneth McAlpin, King of Dalriada, when they and the Scots fused into one monarchy. The tradition is that the vanquished people were exterminated—the last man dying rather than reveal the secret of “heather ale”—but this is most probably, like the extermination of the Celts by the Teutons, a mere historic myth.* Their power was, nevertheless, exterminated, and from the amalgamation of the victors with the survivors of the vanquished, the present Scottish Highlanders and their language are descended, the latter, no doubt, being influenced by the dialectic elements, of which it is to a certain extent the mosaic. Everywhere, for the same reasons that the Celtic speech generally loses ground, the Gaelic is disappearing, though it is still used in something like two hundred churches, and more or less by about 300,000 people, many of whom, however, understand English perfectly well.

Within the present century there has been quite a Gaelic literary renaissance. Books and magazines have been published in the language, dictionaries have been compiled, chairs have been founded, old manuscripts have been published or reprinted, and there has been a flutter in the dovecots of philology over its beauties, its poetry, and its other merits. But nevertheless, those who know best what is the real state of matters are well aware that the Gaelic is on the wane. Young people are growing up who do not understand it, or who feel that to “have the Gaelic” is no longer a mark of distinction. Others speak it, but with a mixture of English words and English idioms which demonstrate that we are approaching the beginning of the end. English is everywhere pushing the Gaelic out of its old strongholds, for the steam-engine, and the School Board, and the immigration agent are not the most kindly of nurses to a sickly tongue. When the process is completed, it is the opinion of the distinguished Celtic scholar just quoted, that a change will befall the people too, since there is always a close relationship between the character of a language and the character of the people who use it, so that when the Gaelic disappears many of the features characteristic of the Highland character will disappear with it. “In some respects this will be a cause of regret; in others, perhaps, it will not.” The Highlander has many admirable qualities; but it is not to be denied by his best friends that, like all the sons of man, he has a few very indifferent ones to counterbalance them. Some are inherent in the Celtic mind, and have already been indicated, while a considerable number are due to his isolated position, to the political conditions under which he was so long permitted to live, to the influence of the clan life and the patriarchal government of the chiefs, to the lack of ambition induced by the closed door which his language presented to him at every outlet from his country, and to the lazy existence engendered by a period when the rivers were full of salmon, the moors thick with grouse, and the hills grazed by deer,

* Even in the Lowlands there are signs in the names of the place of an ancient Celtic population. The spoken dialect and topography of Galloway is lowland Scottish—that is, in the main, English; the names of the old localities are Gaelic. Again, while the names of places in Lewis, Harris, Skye, and other Hebrides, are almost entirely old Norse, the people speak Gaelic, and Gaelic names are distributed over almost the whole surface of Scotland without any other trace of Celtic occupation being visible (McLauchlan). In these cases the people might have been Cymri, who were gradually driven by the Lowlanders into the fastnesses where they subsequently united with their Gaelic relations.

which were his for the killing. Like all his race, the Scottish Celt is prodigiously proud of his pedigree, and is never weary of tracing his descent from this family, or from that chief, and of exalting his clan over the clan of everybody else. The bards kept these genealogies, and as the first object of such retainers was to exalt his own chief or clan at the expense of the rival dignitary, or sept, the bulk of them, like such literature generally, are little better than fiction. The Dukes of Argyll are, for example, made to spring through King Arthur (had the bard been familiar with history he would have taken care to make the line run through other sovereigns also), from "Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God." The names of persons in Gaelic are for the most part patronymic. For example, at first people were distinguished as the "brown man," or the "brown-faced man," or "the servant of the bishop" (Gillespuig). Then we have John the son of Neil—Eoin MacNeill. But in case there should be another John M'Neil, we have Eoin MacNeill *mhic Dhomhnall*, and perhaps a third step, until the person is properly identified (McLauchlan). Or the name is derived from some peculiarity, such as Eoin Dubh, Black John, or it is from a place or estate. The latter method of proving the individuality of a person named is very common, a farmer or a landowner being invariably dubbed by the title of his holding, or his house, or his property, while the head of a clan is spoken of as "The" Macdonald, or "The" Macleod.

The language abounds in proverbs, and in tales of fiction of the folk-lore order, some of the tales, such as those collected by the late Mr. John Campbell of Islay, being replete with ideas which could never have originated in the little islands where they are found, so that in all probability they are of a date long prior to the arrival of the Celts in the Hebrides. The Scottish Gaelic is admirably suited for the purpose of conveying religious ideas, and is peculiarly fitted for poetical expression. But when it is necessary to describe in it current events and discoveries which require a fresh vocabulary it fails. English words must be used with just the least Gaelic intonation, for when it was attempted to introduce new expressions into the tongue, the experiment resulted so indifferently that it has been generally abandoned. Many peculiar customs prevail all over the Highlands, and superstitions of a strange description are so prevalent that only lack of space forbids us to enter on this fruitful theme. In every portion of the Highlands there are curious beliefs in "second sight," or the power of certain people to see into the future, or to indicate what may be passing in distant parts—in fairies, in water monsters, and a hundred similar mainstays of the folk-lorist. But it is in the remoter Hebrides or Western Isles that quaint manners linger longest, and where the student of "survivals" may find the richest harvest awaiting him.* Some of the grazing and agrestic customs of the Outer Hebrides are peculiarly interesting, and may be noticed merely as a sample of many others which must be left undescribed.

These islands are known in Gaelic as "Innis Gall"—that is, the "Islands of the Strangers," the particular "strangers" referred to being the Norse rovers who for a time occupied them. The present inhabitants are essentially Celtic in tongue and origin, though with an infusion of Scandinavian blood, and in physique are as splendid a race of people as any

* Arthur Mitchell: "The Past in the Present" (1880); Campbell: "Tales from the West Highlands" (1860—62).

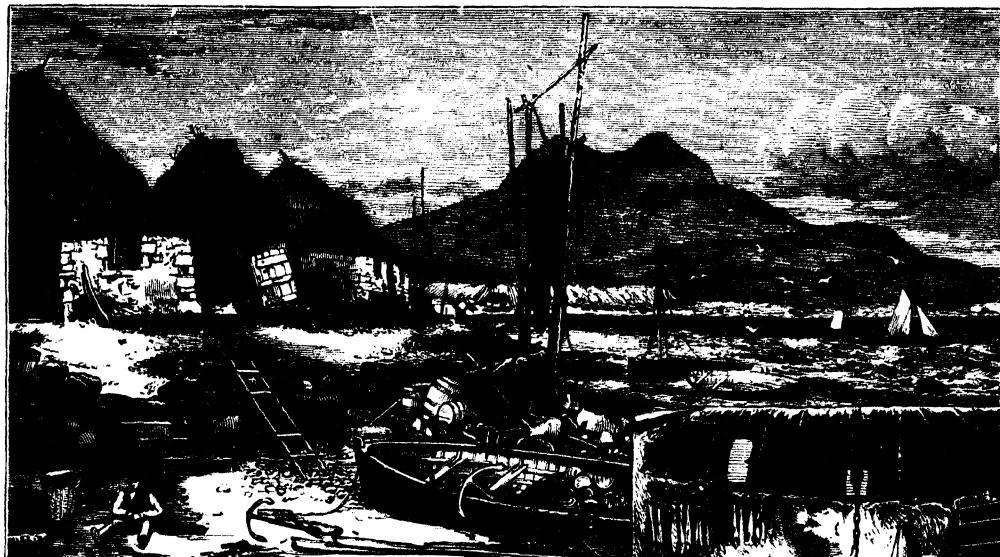
in the British Isles. Nor mentally are they much, if at all, inferior to any of their fellow-countrymen, though their remoteness and ignorance of the inner world have impressed upon their character certain peculiar traits. Conservative in disposition, they resent change even when that change is for their benefit. Hence agrestic customs long obsolete elsewhere are here found in full swing. All of the crofters of the Outer Hebrides occupy and work their lands on the "run-rig" system, which exists in three different forms, two of which are dying out. The term means in the Gaelic "common division," which it really is. According to the first mode of "run-rig," a functionary called the "constaball," who holds office in every town under the "maor," or ground officer, takes in hand and provides for



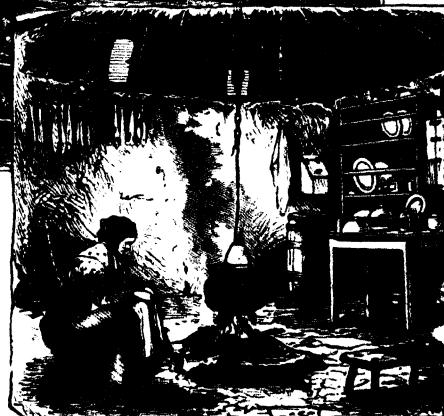
PEAT-CARRIERS OF LOCH MAREE, SCOTLAND.

the whole community. He sees that the flocks and herds of the parish are cared for in the common pasture, and he appoints the parish herdsman and shepherd; he sees to the safe enclosure of the cattle-fold; he sets the population at work, and when he orders them to stop they stop. He marks out the portion of peat-bog where each family shall take its fuel; he looks to the state of the roads, and obliges each inhabitant to keep his part in repair. In short, the constable is a benevolent despot. An official wielding such authority is naturally appointed only after much heart-searching, and with befitting solemnity. When a constable is to be elected the people of the townland, or bailie-wick, meet in solemn hustings. This and all kindred meetings are called *nabac*—that is, "neighbourland;" when presided over by the "maor" it is called a *mod*, or "moot." If the people meet during the day, they probably assemble at a place locally

known as the "Council Hill," or the "Council Stone," though for economy of time these elections are generally held at night. The crofter who is chosen for the dignity removes his shoes and stockings, uncovers his head, and, taking a handful of earth in his hand, swears in the presence of heaven and earth to be faithful to his trust. His duties are very varied and onerous, for he must see that all are employed; he must take care that no man works his horse or other beast of burden too heavily or too long, for there is still a latent superstition that the spirits of horses are in communication with the spirits in heaven. It



CROFTERS' HUTS IN SKYE, WITH AN INTERIOR.



is also part of his duty to buy new stock and engage the herdsman and shepherd of the townland, appointing them ground for potatoes and "bere" (a species of barley), and to collect and pay their wages. The constable must see that all the roads are kept in repair, and that each man performs his proper amount of free labour for the common good. It is his function to see to the cow-folds and their due substantiality. Finally, not to enumerate all his duties, the "constable" must act as a "rent warner," and assist at evictions, the system of "run-rig," though one of communal agriculture, being thus, in truth, worked by one man.

In Barra—famous for its cragsmen and the vast number of sea-fowl, in which at one time many of the smaller crofters paid their rents to "The" Macneill, whose crest was one of the wildest precipices in the island—another stage of the "run-rig" land tenure obtains. Here the arable land is all divided into crofts, no part being held in common except the grazing grounds. The crofters of each townland have their own herdsman, and regulate their own affairs without interference from without. A curious custom prevails among the

people of Barra of apportioning their boats to the fishing grounds at sea much as they apportion their cows to their grazing grounds on land. The names, positions, extent, characteristics, and capabilities of these fishing banks are as well known to these farmer fishermen as those of their crofts. When a division is to be made they meet at church on the 1st of February, and, having ascertained the number of boats engaging in the long-line fishing, assign these boats in proportionate numbers among the banks according to the fishing capabilities of each bank. The men then draw lots, each head-man drawing the lot for his crew, and in this way the boats are told off to their respective stations for the season. No people have more opportunity or perhaps a shrewder wit for observing the ways and wanderings of the finny tribes, and a great deal of quaint lore and legend of the sea appears to be hid away among these simple folk. They say that the movements of the fishes are as unaccountable and seemingly as erratic as those of the birds. Fishes, moreover, resemble birds in certain traits. Some fishes, such as the cod and conger, are of a solitary and unsocial bent, like the raven and the skua, while others, such as the saithe and the herring, are neighbourly in their habits and live in communities, like the razorbill and the guillemot.

The dwellings in Barra and the Uists—indeed, throughout the chain of scattered islands which make up the wave-worn Hebrides—belong almost wholly to the “wattle and daub” class of construction. The wattling is plastered over on each side with boulder clay and white-washed with lime. It is matter of familiar history that this wattling was largely used by the Celts, and is in fact at this day the material out of which many of the Irish mud cabins are composed, and was at one time largely employed in the woodless portions of the Highlands not only for houses but for doors, gates, partitions, fences, and barns. It is believed by Mr. Skene that St. Columba’s first church in Iona was so constructed, and one of the Gaelic names of Dublin is *Bailath-cliath*—“the town of the ford upon wattles”—the first bridge over the Liffey having been constructed of wattle-work. There is even a probability, as Mr. Carmichael suggests, that the interlacing used and so much admired in ancient Celtic art and sculpturing had its origin in this wattle, occasionally called Celtic basket-work.

Besides the systems of tenure described, there is what is called by Mr. Carmichael “intermediate run-rig.” According to this custom the cultivated portion of the soil is divided among a number of crofters. In order to facilitate the formal division, the area to be apportioned is divided into four quarters, which are balloted for by the constables of the townlands acting for their respective constituencies. This done, the constables, assisted by the people, the whole supervised by the “maor,” subdivide their respective sections into the number necessary to supply each individual with his “rig” or share. The crofters cast lots, and each rig is retained for three years, when the entire cultivated area is again laid out in grass and fresh ground broken elsewhere, the whole district of South Uist being thus alternately treated as pasture and tillage.

The Highlanders of Scotland are essentially musical. Of old they had songs for every pursuit in which they were engaged—love, war, and the chase especially—and all of these ballads are beautiful, and all chaste. They had labour songs with which they accompanied themselves in rowing, shearing, spinning, fulling, milking, and in grinding at the quern, or handmill, which is still commonly met with in the islands of Scotland. They were always also, as they are still, extremely pious, and had prayers for every occasion. “There was a

special prayer on going to sea, a special prayer on going to the ‘shealing,’ a special prayer for resting the fire at night, for kindling it in the morning, for lying down at night, for rising up in the morning, for taking food, for going in search of sheep, cattle, and of horses, for setting out to travel, and for other occasions.” The people of St. Kilda, that lonely rock islet “amid the melancholy main,” sing, or used to sing, as did the Rhodian Greeks on the coming of the swallows, a joyous song on the arrival of the birds which constitute the principal portion of their food—a food, moreover, to which they have been so long accustomed that, when unable to obtain it, they are said to often pine away and even to die. One of these ditties, as given by Mr. Carmichael, begins—

“Bui’cheas dha’n Ti, thaine na Gugachan,
 Thaine’s na h-Eoin Mhora ciuderiu,
 Cailin dugh ciaru bo’s a chro !
 Bo dhonn ! bo dhonn ! bo dhonn bheadarrach !
 Bo dhonn a ruin a bhiltheadh am baine dhuit
 Ho ro ! mo gheallag ! ni gu rodagach !
 Cailin dugh ciaru bo’s a chro—
 Na h-coin air tighinn ! cluinneam am eol !”

“Thanks to the Being, the gannets have come,
 Yes ! and the Great Auks along with them.*
 Dark haired girl !—a cow in the fold !
 Brown cow ! brown cow ! brown cow, beloved ho !
 Brown cow ! my love ! the milker of milk to thee !
 Ho ro ! My fair-skinned girl—a cow in the fold,
 And the birds have come !— glad sight, I see !”

When the shores are strewn with seaweed, the Hebrideans, like the Irish Celts (p. 188), rejoice, for then manure is plentiful, though the money they used in former times to make out of the “kelp,” or ashes of the seaweed, has disappeared since iodine can be obtained more cheaply from other plants. In order to inform them of the arrival of the “tang,” most farms in the outer Hebrides have a “perchman,” or “Am Peursair,” living near the seashore, whose duty it is to apprise them of their services being required by hoisting a bundle of ragged seaweed on the top of a pole. Then “men and girls, with horses and carts, and creels, labour assiduously in removing the sea’s gift beyond the reach of the waves. If they did not, perhaps the next tide might sweep the whole away. Where seaweed is abundant on the shore there is no restriction, but when less plentiful the seaweed is divided into ‘peighinnean,’ or ‘pennies,’ like their land into rigs or ridges.” In Lewis and Harris, the crofters keep stock according to every pound of rent they pay. This is called “Coir-Sgoraidh,” or grazing right, and every cow is entitled to her progeny. But the number of progeny to which a cow kept in this communal grazing ground is entitled differs in different islands and districts. In some places the cow is entitled to her calf only; in some to her calf and stirk; in some to her calf, stirk, and two-year-old quey; while in others the cow is entitled to have grazing not only for herself, but for her stirk,

* As the Great Auk (*Aloa impennis*) has been an extinct bird for at least forty years, this song, even admitting that the bird lingered in St. Kilda after it was extinct in the rest of the north, must be of somewhat ancient date.

quey, and three-year-old heifer. Again, when any other animal is preferred to a cow, there is a regular table of equivalents. For instance, one horse is equal to eight sheep, or to two cows, or to sixteen lambs, or to sixteen geese. In the Uists and Barra, the people keep stock according as they have a whole croft, a half croft, or a quarter croft, each croft being entitled to so many "soums," or grazings, and if the stock of a tenant is incomplete, he may dispose of his grazing right to a neighbour who may have an over-stock. "The tenants of a town land will not willingly allow a fellow-tenant to sell his grazing outside the town land. There are various things which a tenant can and which he cannot do; and all these things, so intricate to a stranger, so easy to themselves, are well defined. All of the stock and land arrangements of this people show that they could not have been devised by fools," but at a period when a sort of "village system," or agriculture in common, prevailed over the Hebrides much more generally than it does at present. This "village system" seems at one time to have been common to all the Celtic tribes. The village was a State in itself, a political unit which might or might not have any bond of union with the other villages in its vicinity. Indeed, this condition of society was in early days general among the primitive Aryans.* So interesting are these little-known customs of the Hebrideans, which are fast expiring, that page after page might easily be filled with similar notes. A few words on the "shealings," or temporary huts during the sheep-grazing seasons on the hill-grazing country must, however, suffice. The walls of these shealings are of turf, the roof of sticks covered with "divots," or pieces of sod. But there is another kind, the "Bothen cloiche," or stone bothy, entirely constructed of stone, the roof tapering to a cone more or less pointed. The apex of the cone roof is probably finished off with a flagstone, through the centre of which a hole admits the exit of the smoke, and the ingress of light. The door, which is seldom shut, is made of wattles, heather, or bent, that is, a coarse grass growing in sandy ground. In the wall are recesses, or "boles," for the reception of articles in use, while lower down the bosom of the thick wall contains the dormitories, where the various occupants sleep. The entrance to these dormitories, slightly raised above the floor, is a small hole barely capable of admitting a person to creep through. This sleeping place is called "crupa," from "crupudh" (to crouch). It was a special feature in the architecture of the former houses in St. Kilda, the houses themselves being called "crupa" from this characteristic. These beehive houses are still the shealings of the Lewis people. "Some are also to be seen in the forest of Harris, but none in either of the Uists or of Barra: in these places the people have practically ceased going to the summer shealings. Invariably two or three strong healthy girls share the same shealing.

* Gomme: "Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life" (1883); and the works of Sir Henry Sumner Maine and Mr. Seebohm on the same subject. Carmichael: "Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cotters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" (1884), pp. 451-512; see also Martin: "Western Isles" (1703); Johnson: "A Journey to the Western Highlands of Scotland" (1775); Boswell: "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" (1786); Gregory: "History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland" (1836); Wilson: "Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland and the Isles" (1842); Fond: "Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides" (1799); Macculloch: "Highlands and Western Islands" (1824); Buchanan: "Travels in the Western Hebrides" (1793); Buchanan (Robt.): "The Hebrid Isles" (1875); Seton: "St. Kilda" (1878); Macaulay: "History of St. Kilda" (1764); Sands: "St. Kilda" (1877); Maxwell: "Wanderings in the Highlands and Islands" (1844), &c. &c.



HIGHLAND LASSIE. (*After a Sketch by John Phillip, R.A.*)

Here they remain making butter and cheese till the corn is ripe for shearing, when they and their cattle return home. The people enjoy this life at the hill pasture, and many of the best lyric songs in their language are in praise of the loved summer shealing."

The question of Gaelic teaching has been so often mooted that a brief reference may also be made to this subject. According to the census of 1881, the number of persons in

Scotland who speak Gaelic habitually is 281,594, and of these 184,230 belong to the counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland, the Gaelic spoken in the Scandinavianised county of Caithness being so little as to be practically out of account. Sutherland is the most Gaelic of all the divisions of North Britain, though Inverness and Ross run it closely, and every year, though Gaelic is very properly used as the medium for teaching in the schools, the number of English-speaking people, or of people who speak, read, and write the English language correctly, is on the increase. Grants have long been given to Gaelic-speaking teachers, and most likely, as is the case in Ireland, special allowances will be made for proficiency in the ancient tongue, so that though this language as the sole medium of communication with the outer world will, before long, become extinct, it is more and more improbable that as a dialect of Celtic it will ever cease to be understood in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.* Chastity of conduct and modesty of speech are everywhere characteristic of the Highland race. Respect for the dead is evinced by the care with which the departed are buried, and the funeral trains which follow the hearse over the wildest roads, and in the roughest of weather (Plate 47). As seamen and soldiers, the Celts or Scots have distinguished themselves in every part of the world, and any one who has seen the herring fishers off the northern coast of Scotland, many of them being Hebrideans, can appreciate the courage and skill of the race. Fidelity to their chiefs is of course a classic virtue among the Gaels and other Celtic people. Right across the hills from Houbeag in South Uist lies Corradal, where there is a small cave in which Prince Charles Edward lived in hiding for six weeks. Hundreds of poor crofters and fishermen knew of his place of concealment. Yet though ten thousand pounds—double the value then compared with what it is now—was offered, not a man ever attempted to betray the ill-fated adventurer. At Houbeag, it may be added, was born Neill Mac Eachain, father of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Taranto. He was educated for the priesthood, but did not take orders, and had been acting as schoolmaster of the parish, and at the same time as tutor in the family of Clanranald, when he was sent to Skye with Flora Macdonald and her Irish spinning-maid, "Betty Burke" (the Prince). Neill Mac Eachain followed the Prince to France, where he changed his name back to Macdonald—the Macdonalds being known in Uist as Mac Eachain. He married, and his son, entering the army at the time of the Revolution, rose, as all the world knows, to the rank of Marshal of France and Duke of Taranto, being honoured equally by Napoleon, and by the Bourbon sovereign on the Restoration. In 1825, the Marshal visited South Uist to see his relations. "On coming in sight of the river near which his father was born," Mr. Carmichael tells us, "he raised his arm, and exclaimed, 'That is the River of Hough. I know it from my father's description. Many a salmon my father killed there.' On meeting his blind old uncle, he embraced him affectionately, and granted him and his daughter an annuity, and gave to various other relatives sums of money. He took potatoes with him from the garden his father's father had, and earth from the floor of the house wherein his father was born. This earth was, by

* "Report of the Crofter Commission, &c.," p. 83; Stewart: "Nether Lochaber" (1879); Stewart (Col.): "Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlands of Scotland" (1825); Logan: "Scottish Gael" (1831); MacLagan: "Scottish Myths" (1882); Rogers: "Social Life in Scotland" (1882); Chambers: "Domestic Annals of Scotland" (1865); Knox: "Tour through the Highlands and the Hebride Isles in 1786" (1787), &c.

his orders, put into his coffin when he died. He parted with his relatives with many mutual regrets. That was a great day in Houbeag!" In all the misfortunes of their oftentimes reckless lords the Highlanders stood by them, suffering ruin rather than the "chief" should want, and when the worst came to the worst, the clansmen in more than one instance followed their patriarchal head to other lands, where under more favourable circumstances they might live their ancient life anew. That they have thus improved in material prosperity may be taken for granted, though it would perhaps be expecting too much that the fidelity which induced them to cross the sea has survived its transplantation into a less mediæval soil. It may, however, be added, for the information of those not familiar with Scotland, that the picturesque fisher folk whose costume so readily lends itself to the painter (p. 200) are not as a rule of Celtic blood, most of the sea-going population of the east of Scotland being of Norse ancestry ; in many instances, indeed, the likeness between them and their kindred on the shores of Norway and Denmark being so marked as to strike any one, even if not acquainted with the historical circumstances which led to the opposite shores being peopled with Scandinavian "vikingr." Finally, the number of artists of Gaelic origin shows that the skill of the people who under the direction of the Irish missionaries carved the lovely crosses (p. 184), and other sculptured stones, which remain in every part of the country, has not deserted their descendants.*

THE MANXMEN.

The Manx language, as we have already seen, is closely allied to the Gaelic and the Erse, being the sub-dialect of Celtic which is most akin to those branches of the Gaedhelic division (p. 183). In pronunciation and vocabulary the differences are not so great as to prevent a Manxman from conversing with a Scottish Highlander or an Irishman, though the orthography is more perplexing to the philologist who essays the comparative study of these dialects. As a living tongue Manx is rapidly disappearing. It is not taught in any of the island schools, nor is there any provision for the natives preserving a familiar acquaintance with it ; so that it promises very soon to follow the fate which befell the Cornish. At present it is spoken only by a few thousand people in the north-western parishes and in one or two localities along the western coast, though even there, in the vast majority of instances, English is also understood. The vocabulary of Manx differs from Gaelic much more than it does from Irish, but even then this dissimilarity is more apparent than real, owing to a kind of phonetic spelling that has been adopted in Manx, by which the radical letters have often been lost. During the Norse and Welsh conquest of Man the language suffered great corruption, not so much from the infusion of foreign elements as from the people being shut off from those speaking the same tongue. Add to this the circumstance that Manx has never received anything like the same literary cultivation as the other Celtic dialects, and one can understand how in time the trifling dialectic difference (the island being most probably peopled by the same race as those speaking the other dialects

* See Steuart: "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," and Drummond: "Ancient Scottish Weapons," for some fine specimens of this department of artistic toil.



NEWHAVEN FISHWIVES.

referred to), has become somewhat marked.* The origin of the island's name is obscure. Mr. Jeffcott derives it from "Manninee," the name of a tribe by whom the island was originally occupied. These Manninee in remote times occupied elevated solitudes near the sea, and the foundations of their circular huts still exist on the slopes of the mountains.†

* Kelly: "A Practical Grammar of the Ancient Gaelic, or Language of the Isle of Man, usually called Manx" (1870); Gill: "Fockleyn Manninagh as Baarlagh" [Manx Dictionary], (1866); Cumming: "Isle of Man" (1848); Halliwell: "Roundabout Notes on the Isle of Man" (1863); Train: "History of the Isle of Man" (1826); Jenner: "The Manx Language, its Grammar, Literature, and Present State" (1879).

† "Mann; its Name and Origin" (*Manx Miscellanies*, vol. ii., 1880).

Man is still the home of many legends and fairy tales, which the admixture of Saxons has done less than the instruction of schoolmasters to eradicate. Old people still living or only very recently dead profess to have seen "the good people" wending their way over the hills all dressed in "loaghtyn" (or fine brown wool), with little pointed red caps, most of them bearing on their shoulders various articles of domestic use, such as kettles, pots, pans, and spinning-wheels, this migration being in one case attributed to their desire for quieter quarters since the establishment of a fulling mill in their neighbourhood.*



PEEL CASTLE, ISLE OF MAN.

Various other legends more or less historical † still float about among the people, and some of the ghostly tales which have given "Mona" a distinguished place in the annals of folk-lore may, by diligent search, be found passing from mouth to mouth among people who are quite unaware of any of them having been embalmed in print. In Rushen Castle there are said to be subterranean apartments inhabited by genii and giants, and at times —rarer now than formerly—apparitions are to be seen by those whose minds incline them for seeing such unearthly beings. At Peel Castle the "mauthe doog," or spectre dog, is the stock bogie. So long as the garrison was maintained there this brute, in the shape of a large black hound, made its nightly visits to the guard-room, until the soldiers grew so familiar with his visits that one of them attempted to follow the animal to his

* "The Antiquary," vol. iii., p. 47.

† "The Antiquary," vol. x., pp. 157—161.

retreat; but what he saw no man ever knew, for the soldier soon returned, speechless and convulsed, and in this state continued for three days, until he died. Sir Walter Scott refers to the legend when he describes the mosstrooper as being as dismayed, when he heard the elfin voices at Branksome Hall, as he "of whom the story ran who spoke the spectre hound in Man." Other stories hinge upon supernatural beings who are seen on the hills, and either for the gratification of mortal curiosity or their own self-esteem impart to shepherd lads the secret of certain events which are to happen in distant parts of the kingdom. Man is, indeed, still, as it has been called, the "fairy land," the belief in the elves and their kindred having lingered longer here than in most other parts of the kingdom, unless, indeed, we except the other Celtic regions of Great Britain. A firm credence in witchcraft has not yet become extinct. If a fisherman makes one or two unsuccessful trips he proceeds to exorcise his boat by burning furze or straw in the centre, and carrying the flaming material to every crevice where it is supposed the evil spirit may continue to lurk. "If a cow is diseased, or any difficulty occurs in churning, the operation of the evil eye is immediately suspected, and a strict inquiry is made as to who may have been lately upon the spot, for the power of doing mischief is by no means confined to a few malignant individuals, but seems to be generally ascribed by every one to an adversary or a rival." These remarks, though made nearly seventy years ago, are not out of date so far as the more remote portions of the island are concerned, but, it is almost needless to say, have ceased to be applicable to the more educated classes of the Manx, who are about as intelligent as any of the other people of Great Britain. This belief in the evil eye, which is so widespread throughout the world, played an extensive part in the social life of Man in the earlier part of the century, and gave rise to many quarrels, libel suits, and other disagreeables. The witches and fairies of the island are not supposed to combine or to produce exactly the same effects by their power, the former being, as elsewhere, wholly occupied in acts of aggression, while the latter are often well disposed to those who treat them generously. Frolicsome in their nature, they often display considerable humour, and, in common with the "brownies" of Scotland and the "Nisser" of Scandinavia, are easily accessible to bribes. A dairymaid, for example, if desirous of sparing herself any unusual exertion, regularly makes them the offering of a small pat of butter or a piece of curd cheese, which is affixed to the wall of the dairy, and is believed to propitiate these invisible agents. As late as the second decade of this century the livers of fowls and fish were uniformly sacrificed to the fairies, and at Baaltane, or Midsummer Eve, when their powers are of unlimited extent, flowers and herbs are the only barriers to their incursions. Accordingly, they were at that period regularly spread on the doors and window-sills to protect the inhabitants.

But perhaps the most curious of the prehistoric customs of the Isle of Man is that of "hunting the wren," founded on a popular tale, how at a former period a fairy of uncommon beauty exercised such an influence on the male population that at various times she induced numbers of gallants to follow her footsteps until they were led into the sea, and drowned. This practice continued for a while, until the island threatened to be exhausted of its defenders, when a knight discovered so powerful a means of counter-acting her charms, that she escaped only by taking the form of a wren. In this way

she evaded instant destruction, but a spell was laid on her, by which she was condemned on every successive New Year's Day to reanimate the form of the bird, and in the end to perish by human hands. Accordingly, on the morning of the fated day every man and boy who has not risen above this superstition turns out to search for her, and woe betide the hapless wren which they come across, for it is instantly doomed to die as the enemy of the human race, the fairy possibly inhabiting the particular bird seen hopping about. Every individual of the species is pursued, pelted at, fired at, and destroyed without mercy, and its feathers preserved with religious care, it being an article of belief that any one of the relics gathered in this laudable pursuit is an effectual preservative against shipwreck for one year, and that the fisherman who should venture to sea without such a safeguard would be extremely foolhardy. At one time the wren was hunted on the 24th of December; afterwards the date was changed to St. Stephen's Day, and when Mrs. Bullock wrote, the new year seems to have been the proper period for this improving pursuit. After having carried one of the dead birds around the village or countryside, and collected all the money they could, the corpse was at that period solemnly buried in the parish churchyard, while the company sang a dirge in the Manx language, and subsequently danced to music which they had provided for the occasion. At present there is no particular day fixed for the hunt, and instead of the churchyard any waste ground on the sea-shore is chosen for its interment. In Ireland, though the same ceremonies are not followed, it is in many places customary, on the anniversary of St. Stephen, to carry about a holly bush with many wrens hung to its branches, the "wren boys" meantime chanting a curious song proper to the occasion.* Various attempts have been made to explain the custom, and it has even been traced among the Magyars and other people. But none of them are sufficiently satisfactory to be worthy of record.†

Little more need be said regarding the Manxmen, except that they have many of the characteristics of the Celtic people, intensified, on the one hand, by their island life, and the more or less independent government which they have always enjoyed, and on the other modified by the large admixture of foreign blood which has from the earliest times been diluting the original stock of the island. The people have for many centuries been a little nation by themselves, perfectly loyal to their suzerain, and industrious in agriculture, fishing, and what mines—chiefly those of lead, copper, zinc, and iron—the island affords. They have a constitution and government of their own, and the present legislative body—consisting of two houses collectively known as the Tynwald Court—is the lineal descendant of the old folk-moot which used to gather on the Tynwald Hill for the regulation of the island affairs. Even yet, after a bill has passed the Legislature, and received the Royal Assent, it does not become law until it is promulgated in the English and Manx languages on the site of the ancient open-air councils.‡

* "Bullock: "History of the Isle of Man" (1817), p. 372; Croker "Researches in the South of Ireland" (1824), p. 233.

† *The Academy*, May 10 and June 14, 1884, March 14 and 21, and April 11, 1885.

‡ Gomme: "Primitive Folk Moots," pp. 90-97, 279; Train: "History of the Isle of Man," vol. ii., pp. 188, 190.

THE WELSH.

The people of "the principality" form so important a portion of the British races, that it would be hopeless, within the limits at our disposal, to say anything even approaching to completeness regarding their history, manners, or literature. Accordingly, we must dismiss them with a few remarks altogether disproportionate to their merits, though happily the materials for forming a fuller opinion of this fine section of the Celtic people are so numerous that the reader can supplement the hints supplied by the study of these documents.* The history of Wales begins about the year A.D. 703, with the death of Cadwaladr, and terminates with the overthrow of Llewellyn in 1282. Before the first-mentioned date it was mixed up with that of the island generally, and naturally was more or less mythical; after the overthrow of their last native prince, the story of "the principality" again becomes merged into that of the rest of the nation of which the Welsh became an integral, and, as their eminence in every department of intellectual and commercial industry proves, a very remarkable portion. For more than four centuries and a half the Welsh have been at peace with England. They have, it is true, asserted their nationality, and the claims of their language to recognition. But the idea of regaining their original independence of the Saxon has been longer lost in Wales than in any other portion of Celtic Britain, unless Cornwall be excepted, for the Celts of Cumbria were never an entirely distinct people, like those of Scotland, Ireland, Man, and Wales. Since peace has been the lot of the people they have steadily progressed in prosperity. Their mines give them a source of enduring wealth; their agriculture is thriving, and their sweet pastures support a breed of sheep and cattle of which their neighbours can never get too many. Finally, their language is the most living portion of the Celtic tongue, and, unlike the Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, shows no sign of vanishing. It is still the everyday speech of about seventy per cent. of the people, and of these 950,000 about one-third—or less—speak Cymric alone. But its vitality is not confined to a mere oral existence. It is a genuine literary tongue, abounding in works of history and poetry, and even possessing a slight amount of scientific literature. Newspapers and magazines in the Welsh tongue are numerous, and at the Eisteddfods, or annual semi-literary gatherings of bards and harpers, for the encouragement of Welsh poetry, culture, and pastimes generally, the ancient tongue is heard infinitely more frequently than that which has supplanted it in the rest of England.

It may be that the pronunciation, and the terminology, even the orthography and the vocabulary of the language of our times, is not the same as that of the palmy days of Welsh learning. Indeed, since the times of Taliesin—who flourished between A.D. 520 and 570—the change in the Cymric speech has been so great that the ordinary unlettered Welshman could no more understand it than the illiterate Englishman could the verses of Chaucer, or those of Layamon, which were more than six centuries later than the era of the Cambrian bard. Indeed, where we make much of the differences of the Celtic dialects, and discuss with fruitless industry the question of whether the two great divisions of the

* Wirt Sikes: "Wild Wales" (1880), and "Welsh Goblins" (1879), give pleasant popular accounts of the people; and in the appendix to Professor Sullivan's treatise on Celtic Literature in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* will be found a list of the principal works on the history and language of the Welsh race.

language had begun to divide into their present forms before or after the people speaking them came to Great Britain, we must remember that at this moment there are undoubtedly dialects of English which it would puzzle the most learned philologist to make anything out of either in print or as orally pronounced. What uninitiated individual would, for instance, guess "Owdam" to be the Lancashire of Oldham, or "Ratchdaw" to stand for Rochdale? That "fattle be i'th the foyer" might possibly be guessed to stand for "the fat will be in the fire." But "si geet oop bi shrike o dee, an seet eawt, on went ogreath tilly willy ot on ealheawse dur," might tax the power of the scholar to whom the language of Cadman or Beowulf is easy, to render into "So I got up by break of day and set out, and went right on until I well nigh came within a mile of the town, where a man was standing at an alehouse door." Or, to still draw on Lancashire, "Im wur off neaw in eer eh war" ("I am worse off now than ever I was") looks more like an archaic tongue than an English dialect, spoken by thousands of people in everyday life. A Welshman cannot understand a Scottish Highlander; he cannot even comprehend a Breton, though his dialect of Celtic is, like his own, one of the three divisions of the Cymrie group. In brief, the difference between the two great divisions of Celtic—the Gaelic and Cymric—is about the same as divides the Icelandie from the German. They both belong to the Teutonic group, but the one is mutually unintelligible to the people speaking the other, and though the philologist is easily able to settle their common origin, he is unable, merely by the unassisted light of reason, to read the one simply because he has learned the other. Nor is it correct to affirm that the Welsh is an unadulterated language. There are, indeed, various Latin and Saxon words, and it is not difficult to point out in a Welsh dictionary the tincture the tongue has received from Danish, Flemish, and French sources, though the enthusiasm of Welsh philologists has gone so far as to trace the most obviously foreign words to a Welsh source, scorning the idea that "Cymraeg" is not a language *per se*.* Still more absurd were the wild assertions of the Celтомaniacs who at one time were not slow to prove, after their own fashion, that Welsh and Armorican was the language of Saturn, Jupiter, "and the other principal gods of heathen antiquity," or that Welsh was the language spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise, the promulgator of this absurd hallucination naïvely remarking that the view expressed "is supposed by some, and no one can disprove it." The truth most probably is, that the Gaelic branch of Celtic is older than the Cymric, and that among the Cymric dialects the extinct Cornish was the oldest of them all, unless, indeed, we regard it as having been derived from Brittany, the nearest neighbour of the country in which it was spoken.



WELSH COUNTRY WOMAN.

* Max Müller: "Lectures on the Science of Language," First Series, p. 200; and Nicholas: "Pedigree of the English People," pp. 380, 381, where many ludicrous examples of this description of mistaken patriotism will be found amply exposed.

Happily, however, the Welshman does not require to adopt any such preposterous hypotheses as those mentioned in order to magnify the nobility of his speech, for with the exception of the Irish, no other European tongue possesses a literature so old as does the Cymric. Nor is any fashion of speech, ancient or modern, more flexible. Permutations are abundant, and the facility for forming derivatives and compounds is almost endless. "The Welsh word for 'father' is *tad*; for 'my,' *fy*. But you cannot say for 'my father' *fy tad*. After *fy*, every word beginning with *t* must change the *t* to *nh*; and, therefore, the correct phrase is *fy nhad*. So after *ei*, *tad* becomes either *dad* or *thad*, according as *ei* means 'his' or 'her.'" The euphony and harmony of the language are a never-ending theme on which the Cambrian loves to dilate, though the Gael is equally firm in the assertion of his variety of Celtic being even more agreeable to the ear, and the outsider, who can only judge by sound is apt to side with him, though this must of course be decided on grounds where it is hard to find a common *locus standi*. A more general article of accord is the stateliness and grandiloquence of the sentences, and the good cause for joy in it, which every true Welshman possesses. On grammar and prosody there are many early treatises in Welsh, and the dictionaries of the tongue, if not always correct in etymology, leave little to be desired so far as fullness of vocabulary is concerned. Poetry and history—or the legendary tales which pass as such—receive the fullest space in the Cymric literature, and the Laws of Hywel Da, or Howel the Good, who died in A.D. 748, exist in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century. The "Triads," which are a collection of historical facts, interspersed with maxims ethical, moral, and legal, and a host of mythical material, to which are added the rules for the construction of verse, obtain their name from the contents being regularly disposed in groups of three. They seem to have been a favourite species of composition, for they exist in all ages. Printing was introduced into Wales about fifty years after it had been in use throughout England, and the earliest work to which it was applied was an almanack with a translation of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. This was the earliest Celtic printed book, but twenty-one years later a translation of the New Testament appeared. The establishment of periodical publications, and spread of Methodism throughout Wales, gave a fresh impetus to the printing of Welsh literature, which has never abated until the present day. The patriotic and benevolent Welsh societies stimulate the production of a vast amount of somewhat indifferent verse, and in the various magazines and newspapers in the language almost every question of any interest to the world at large is eagerly canvassed with an amount of acuteness, if not always with impartiality where Wales is concerned, that gives those capable of profiting by these essays a high opinion of the ability of the people. The result of all this literature is that the Welsh cherish their history and nationality with admirable keenness. They have never displayed the slightest desire for separation from the rest of the kingdom. But at the same time, they resent with characteristic fieriness any attempt to encroach on what they consider their special prerogatives as a people. It is easy enough to say that though the English speak a Teutonic tongue, they are at bottom Celtic, just as the French, though a nation using a Latin dialect, are for the most part Celts, and it may possibly flatter the Welsh to hear, as Dr. Nicholas has tried to make them believe, that there is in England to-day much more Cymric blood than in Wales, despite the fact that more Welsh is heard in

Cardiganshire than in all England together. But though language by itself is not necessarily an index to race, the people using the same medium of communication will in time have sympathies in common and prejudices which link them together, such as no two peoples, separated by the gulf which speech must dig, can by any chance possess. Even yet—and the mischievous notion is encouraged at some of the Eisteddfod gatherings—there is a tendency to that extreme clannishness which would encourage social, if not political, estrangement from the people speaking the Anglo-Saxon tongue. This patriotic furor is happily not spreading, though from the sensitiveness displayed under criticism by the few who advocate this Cymric exclusiveness, it is clear that they feel the weakness of their position in trying, as Matthew Arnold declares the Celt is alone capable of doing, to disbelieve "the reality of fact." English in Wales, as elsewhere in Great Britain, is the medium through which better education and greater enlightenment must permeate the Principality, and therefore whatever may be the Welshman's fondness for his ancient language, he will be doing himself and his children a serious injustice if he fails to cultivate it equally with that mother tongue of which he is so justly proud.

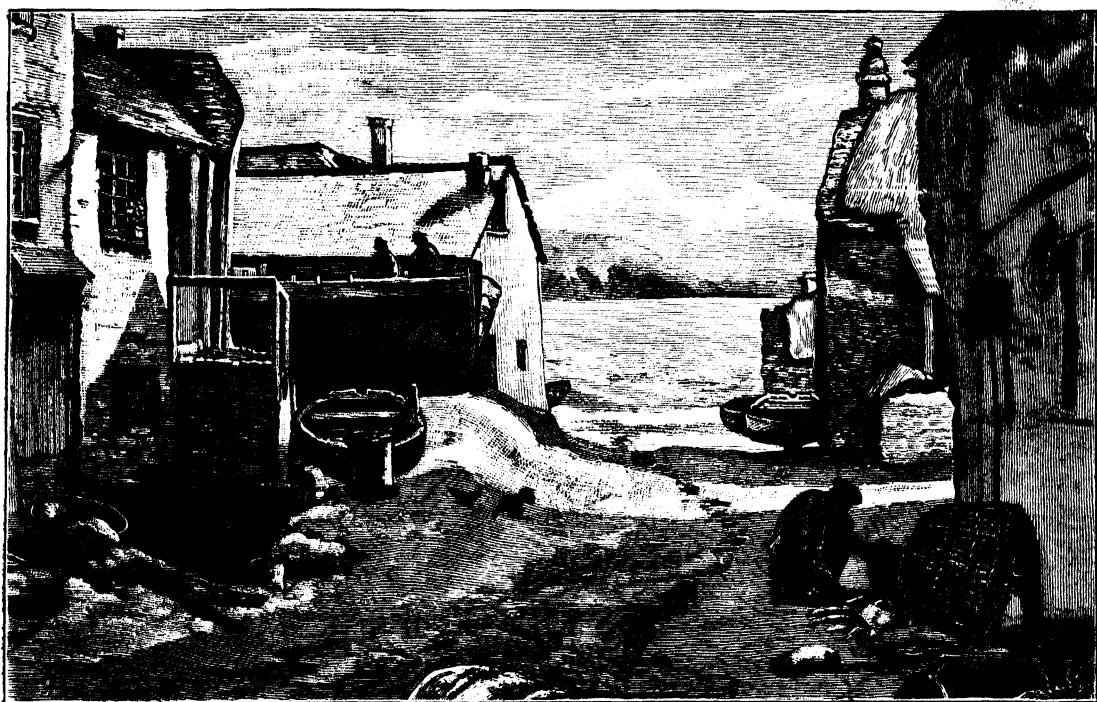
It may perhaps be added, as illustrative of what has already been affirmed regarding the great admixture of Celtic blood with that of the Iberians—or other aboriginal races here before the Celts—that in Wales, which was a stronghold of the former people, dark hair is now almost universal. Many customs which may be regarded as primitive still persist throughout the Principality, and local prejudices, particularly between North and South Welshmen, offer to the ethnologist attractive themes for speculation. But with the exception of the tall hats of the country women (p. 205), and a few less remarkable pieces of attire, the old world costume of the Principality seems to have almost as much disappeared out of Wales as it has out of the greater part of the original homes of the once far-stretching Celtic race.

THE CORNISHMEN.

The people of the last of the British strongholds of the Celts are in many respects extremely interesting, though their tongue is now no longer spoken by any human being, the tombstone erected by Prince Lucien Buonaparte over the grave of Dolly Pentreath in Mousehole Churchyard marking an epoch in philology, for, according to the commonly accepted legend, she was the last person able to speak the Cornish tongue. This was in 1777, when Mrs. Pentreath was in her one hundred and second year. In reality, however, there were said to have been several people who understood and occasionally used the language twenty years after this historical character was dead, and to this day there are a number of words traditional among the people, especially in Mousehole, where Dolly lived and died,* and when the district of the Lizard or Meneage Peninsula has been searched the chances are in favour of other relics being discovered by the industrious gleaner. As early as the reign of Henry VIII. the language seems to have been on the wane, for in

* A list of these will be found in Mr. H. Jenner's paper in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1875-6), p. 533. At that time all the repositories of the vanished tongue were old people, so that by now they may be dead.

an appendix to the first chapter of Andrew Borde's "Introduction to Knowledge, treatinge of Cornewal and Cornyshe Men," we are told that the people used "two speches, the one is naughty Englyshe and the other is Cornyshe speche. And there be many men and women the which cannot speake one worde of Englyshe, but all Cornyshe." Had Cornish then been the general language of the country there would naturally have been no necessity for making these remarks. In 1602 Carew mentions that "most of the inhabitants can no word of Cornish, but few are ignorant of the English, though they sometimes affect to



VILLAGE OF CORNISH CRABBERS.

be." Indeed, twenty-five years before, Norden found English getting so general that most people, except folk in the very humblest rank of life, could hold converse with strangers, though towards the latter part of the seventeenth century the Vicar of Landewednack (the parish of the Lizard) preached in Cornish, that being the language best known to his auditory. He, however, is said to have been the last clergyman who used the Cornish tongue. At that period, even, in all except the remoter parts of the country, the language was becoming extinct. Yet, in 1640, the Vicar of Feock had to administer the sacrament in that speech, as some of the aged folk did not clearly comprehend what was said in English. In 1662 only one person was known who could write in Cornish; few children understood it, and not many adults, except very old people. Accordingly, when Dolly Pentreath—by marriage Jeffrey—died, in 1777,* she and a few of her contemporaries, only recently dead, spoke, it is not improbable, not pure Cornish, but a very broad provincial

* Not—we learn from the Rev. W. Lach-Szyrma, of Penzance—1778, as is erroneously engraved on her tombstone.



CORNISH "HUER."

dialect, intermixed with much of the ancient language, which with a stranger might pass for old Cornish.* There is, indeed, no proof that Dolly could not speak English, or even that she preferred Cornish. She simply spoke the latter, either to gratify her own vanity or to prove that an old woman had an excellent memory for the phrases and limited vocabulary she had learned in her youth. John Keigwin, who was Dolly's predecessor by not a great number of years, for he died in 1710, may be regarded as the last literary cultivator of the language, though in 1879 Bernard Victor, a Mousehole fisherman, who wrote a prize essay on old Cornish, could repeat several words and sentences, which tradition had preserved up to that date.†

Apart, however, from the interest which attaches to it as a Celtic district in which less than a century ago a vanished tongue was spoken, Cornwall is a county of great moment to the ethnologist. Here the crude simplicity, which is fast ceasing to be a feature of the English rustic, lingered longer than in most other parts of Britain, and though the flood of tourists now overflows it, as it overflows every other region, it did not reach the land of tin until it had replenished the rest of the island. The life in the mines, the grim tors, the lonely moors, and the sea dashing in wild waves against the granite cliffs, have all tended to impart to the people a touch of the weird in those superstitions which are always so fascinating to the Celtic mind. Jack the Giant Killer was born at Land's End, and Cormoran, whom he slew, was a Cornish Celt. In this region were laid many of the exploits of King Arthur, and in the legends of his countrymen the famous king still hovers above the western coast in the form of a bird. In Cornwall the "evil eye" terrified the tin miner long after this bogie had ceased to frighten the dweller nearer railways and the daily newspapers. Sometimes the dreaded object was recognised by the form of the eyeball, which was sometimes clear and lustrous, "at other times covered with a filmy gauze, or the pupil was rayed twice." Happily, however, any one could relieve himself from the infliction of the spell worked by the malevolent glance "by bringing away a piece of bread from the hand of the priest at sacrament, and carrying it round the church a certain number of times at midnight. He was then met by a big venomous toad, gaping and gasping, and when he put the bread into the reptile's mouth it breathed upon him three times, and henceforth the evil eye could not have any influence upon him."‡ The Cornish farmer still whistles for a wind to winnow his corn, just as the sailor does for a breeze to fill his sails, and seamen still tell of the spectre ship of Porthcurno, a black, square-rigged, single-masted vessel, which is seen at certain seasons of the year—when the nights are growing long, and the storm sweeps the rock-piled coast—to pass steadily through the breakers of the shore, then to glide over the stones, to ascend the valley, and to steer away across the misty heath, until it vanishes into thin smoke. "No crew is ever seen, and no sound is heard. It is a craft of ill omen, and no one prospers who has once looked on it." In Cornwall we are in

* "Specimens of the Cornish Provincial Dialect, collected and arranged by Uncle Jan Treenoodle" (1846), pp. 1-4.

† Lach-Szyrma: "The Antiquary," vol. i., pp. 15, 63.

‡ Rideing: "In Cornwall with an Umbrella" (*Harper's Magazine*, November, 1881). See also "Our Own Country," Vol. I., pp. 110-124, and Hazlitt's Edition of Brand's "Popular Antiquities," vol. iii., pp. 44-49.

a "land of Lyonesse," over an ancient part of which the sea is rumoured to have rolled, the Scilly Islands and the picturesque rock of St. Michael being the last remnants of this submerged country, once so famous in the Arthurian legends. The first fortress on the "Mount" is, indeed, attributed to the Giant Cormoran, who, like so many of his gigantic compeers, may, perhaps, be traced to the memory of a tall race of warriors who suddenly appeared among the dwarfer aborigines, and, no doubt, carried things with a high hand, until the native "Jacks" succeeded in accomplishing by courage and by craft what they failed to do by strength of limb. The wild huntsman and his spectral dogs still course over the masty moors. The fairies, or "piskies," still loiter in their loved land of Cornwall, for the Celt was ever kindly to them. They are not often seen nowadays, but old people are still living who cherish the memory of the gibes and gambols, the tricks and playfulness, of these fairy folk—how they appeared on the hearthstones unexpectedly, and disappeared as suddenly through the keyhole, without anybody being a whit the worse. If treated with courage and kindness these weird beings are not unamiable to mortals, as the story of the farmer boy shows, who was whisked by them from Portallow to the King of France's cellar, and back again, with a silver goblet in his pocket, all in five minutes. The "login," or rocking stones (p. 212), due to the wearing action of the sea, must, of course, have some less rational explanation, and so stories are plentiful of the fairies who amused themselves with rearing and poising these gigantic rocks, which move on a pivot when gently pushed. This is true, too, of the cairns and the cromlechs, and the curious hut villages, like that at Chysoister (p. 212), which was the dwelling-place of the ancient miners, who "streamed" tin, and sold it to the Phoenicean merchants who traded to the Cassiterides.

In modern times the Cornishmen are about as shrewd and intelligent as the best of their neighbours. Still, the miners are full of superstition, and delight in their folk-stories, which Mr. Robert Hunt* and Mr. Bottrell† have preserved from oblivion, while the fisher-folk have also many customs peculiar to themselves. "Tin, fish, and copper," is the county toast, and fish might reasonably enough be translated into pilchards, which constitute the bulk of their catch. When the "schulls" of pilchards are expected, patrols, or "huers," selected for their quick-sightedness and general activity, are posted on elevated ground overlooking the bay. These sentinels relieve each other after three hours, two men being apportioned to each look-out station. At one time they were in the habit of signalling by means of a branch held in their hand, but at St. Ives, Mr. Bertram tells us, there is a staff on which is fixed a movable ball of a white colour, by means of which directions are telegraphed to the boats to indicate the locality of the shoal, and in other localities the "huer" (p. 209) employs nothing more elaborate than his cap, which is waved according to certain preconcerted signals known to the fishermen who are casting their nets below. Tin and copper mining are, of course, still great Cornish industries, but the "wheals" are every year becoming less and less a source of wealth, while the fisheries maintain all their ancient importance (pp. 208, 213).

Cornwall is altogether one of the most interesting of the ethnologist's fields of research. From one end to the other it is scattered with the remains of prehistoric

* "Romances and Drolls of the West of England" (1865).

† "Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall" (1870-73).

antiquity, and, as we have seen, is a happy hunting-ground to the philologist and to the folk-lorist. In ancient times, as Mr. Borlase points out, every promontory in the west of Cornwall was crowned by a conical tomb, rudely constructed of unhewn stones,

and each granite tor was surmounted by a group of these little burying-places, while the cliffs and hill-tops above and farther inland—wherever, indeed, an aspect ranging from S.E. to S.W. could be secured (for in other situations they are invariably absent)—were studded with lines or groups of large mounds. From the commencement of Cornish agriculture in the reign of Elizabeth to the present time the masons and hedgers have been using these mountain burial-places as an inexhaustible quarry, but enough still remain to attest these curious facts. The reason why this narrow strip of western land is so much more thickly strewn than any other district

with the monuments of the dead seems to be that it is a survival of a superstitious custom, the outcome of an earlier form of worship favoured by a people who loved to face the setting sun. The same phenomenon is to be observed along the western shores of Ireland and in Brittany, and—it is affirmed—in Spain and Portugal. A line of four-holed stones on the moorland above the cliff on which one of these monuments is erected also points east and west, as does the well-known Maen-an-tol, with its shadow stone on either side. Superstitions connected with the sun and with these holed stones are still prevalent in the country.* At Penzance, as in other parts of Celtic Britain—e.g., in Perthshire†—now, or at an earlier date, bonfires have been lit from time immemorial not only on Midsummer Eve but on that of St. Peter also, and until recently it was customary to dance between the fires, and to leap backwards and forwards through their blaze. A belief in witchcraft is still extensively held in Cornwall, and though the tales of magic swords, such as the Excalibur which was wielded by King Arthur, are dead, the idea that the spirit of a murdered woman inhabits a white dove or a white hare is not yet extinct. The greeting of May or spring with horn-blowing is still practised in Cornwall, as it is in other parts of England. Memories of the Cornish “Bucca-boo,” their Neptune or storm-god, are said to linger in the land, and though tribes or clans in the Gaelic or Erse sense cannot any longer be found in Cornwall, remnants of the *gens*, or rudiments of this institution, may be discovered, with all its prejudices and exclusiveness. Indeed, Mr. Lach-Szyrma tells us that tribal justice of a very mild form, such as “sending



THE LOGIN STONE.



HUT-VILLAGE OF CHYSOINTER. (*After Borlase.*)

* Borlase: “The Antiquary,” vol. iii., p. 13.

† These solstician fires are also lit in Russian forests, in Shetland, on the Carpathians, on the Apennines, and on the hills of Brittany, and are to be seen in the calm midsummer night on the sides of Norwegian fjords.

Crabbers. (After J. C. Hook R.A.)



to Coventry," and so forth, exercises such a salutary influence on public morals that the duties of judges and recorders are very light in this part of the kingdom. Finally, not to dwell longer on the interesting remnant of a bygone life which may yet be studied in Cornwall, the usage of the farmer or the master dining with his servants—the men sitting on one side, the women on the other side of the table, the upper servants above and the inferior ones below the salt—survives in the more primitive parts of the country.

The Cornish people, if we may believe Andrew Borde, were, four hundred years ago, indifferently civilised, living in "a pore and very barrē countrey of al manner of thing except Tyn and Fysshe. There meate and theyr bread and drincke is marde and spylt for lacke of good ordring and dressinge. Fyrres and turues is the chief fewel, there ale is starke nought, lokinge white and thycke, as pygges had wrasted in it, smoky and ropye and neuer a good sope, in moste places it is worse and worse, pitie it is them to curse, for wagginge of a straw they will go to law, and al not worth a hawe, playing so the dawe." This quaint description no longer applies, for a more intelligent and respectable class of people is not to be found than the Cornish miners and fishermen, and hospitality has long been one of the most noted characteristics of the country. The English spoken in Cornwall is peculiar, both in its vocabulary and the singing intonation used in speaking it. This is a kind of recitative, which has rather a pleasing effect, though to those unaccustomed to the dialect it renders the words spoken less intelligible. For instance, "Jan Treenoodle," in the amusing collection already quoted (p. 210), begins by saying, "The havage [genealogy] of my family wain't be easy for to find 'mong the County Hist'ries; though et oft for to be, as the antiquity of et es very auntient. I have heerd the ould saw, 'When William the Conqueror did come, Quarme, Cruis, and Crocker were at home,' and have seen en a play-written book 'the Sly's are no rogues. Look in the Chronicle, we come in with Richard Conqueror.' Now we was at hoam long afore them conquerors comed, and have ben very much at hoam ever sence. But we be fine and ould, sure enough, and does'nt mind them as takes from the Normans or King Arthur, or Jack the Giant Killer, or who was at the fight agen Julius Cæsar when he comed across from France 'bout the oyster fishery."* The only other data connected with Cornwall and the Cornish for which space can be found are the following passages from a letter in Cornish, which was written on the 3rd of July, 1776, by William Bodener, a fisherman, and who, therefore, from the date, seems to have been a contemporary of Dorothy Pentreath, if not a survivor of that historical dame.† .

"Bluth vee Eue Egence a pemp (my age is three-score and five). Theatra vee dean Boadjaek an poscas (I am a poor fisherman). Me rig deskey Cornoack termen me vee mawe (I learnt Cornish when I was a boy). Me vee demore gen cara vee a pemp dean moy en cock (I have been to sea with my father and five other men in the boat), me rig scantlower clowes Edenger sowsnack Cowes en cock (and have not heard one word of English spoken in the boat) rag sythen ware bar (for a week together). No rig a vee biscath gwellas lever Cornoack (I never saw a Cornish book). Me deskey Cornoack mous da more gen tees coath (I learned Cornish going to sea with old men). Na ges moye vel

* The reputation of the English fresh-water pearls is said to have been one inducement for the Roman invasion.

† "Archæologia," vol. v., p. 83.

pager pe pemp endreau nye (there is not more than four or five in our town) ell classia Cornish leben (can talk Cornish now), poble coath pager eyance blouth (old people four score years old). Cornoack ewe all ne cea ves yen poble younk (Cornish is all forgot with young people)."

This interesting document, the original of which is in the British Museum, shows that if Mrs. Pentreath was the last person who was known to speak Cornish—a statement which we have seen is quite open to doubt (p. 207)—some of the "four or five old people" must have run her very closely for that distinction.*

THE BRETONS.

The last of all the Celtic people who maintain a racial existence apart from those among whom they dwell as an integral part of the nation are the Bretons of Brittany or Bretagne, the north-west corner of France, and so naturally a continuation of Cornwall that it might be regarded as a portion of the south of England, separated from the country from which it takes its name by a few miles of sea. Physically it is not widely different; archæologically it is dotted with the same cromlechs and other so-called Druidical monuments, and ethnologically the "two Cornwalls"—as the two sides of the Channel have been called—are identical. In other words, the Bretons, though, like the Cornish, intermixed with foreign blood, are in the main Celts who still speak a dialect very nearly allied to the extinct Cornish. The common description of the Bretons is that they were Britons who, wearied with the oppression of the Saxons, fled to Brittany, and there founded for themselves a fresh kingdom. This, in all likelihood, is incorrect. In any case, it is only a small portion of the truth. At the time of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, Armorica, as their country was called, was remote and little disturbed by the stranger. The people were then as now Celts, belonging to the tribes of Veneti, Curiosolitæ, and Osismii, though our knowledge of them is extremely scanty. But in the fifth century a large number of the British Celts, of the same stock as the tribes peopling Cornwall, crossed the Channel and sought a new home with their Armorican kindred, and from time to time similar immigrations followed, only to cross again with the army of William of Normandy, many of whose chiefs and men-at-arms were Bretons. These people, who had doubtless had steady communication with the original inhabitants of Armorica, seem to have been received with kindness, and to have so influenced the race among whom they arrived by means of the higher culture they brought from Romanised Britain that the country henceforth took its name from their ancient island home. It is even doubtful whether they did not replace the dialect of Celtic spoken by their own idiom. In any case, they approximated the two so much that to all intents and purposes the tongue of new and old Britain was identical.

* In addition to the literature already quoted, the following works may be consulted with advantage by those desirous of obtaining a fuller account of the Cornish people and their history:—Carew: "Survey of Cornwall" (1602); Lyson: "Cornwall" (1814); Borlase: "Antiquities of Cornwall" (1769); W. C. Borlase: "Nenia Cornubiensis" (1812); and "Vestiges of Early Institutions in Cornwall" (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx.), and generally the list of books given by Boase and Courtney: "Bibliotheca Cornubiensis" (1874).

They also introduced among the Armoricans their religious forms, and many of their habits, and founded what became in time the cities of Tréguier, Saint Pol-de-Léon, St. Brieuc, and St. Malo. Most probably the greater number of the Bretons are descended from the



COUNTRY GIRL OF BRITTANY.

original stock, though to this day anthropologists affect to be able to trace the two currents of blood which in 1,400 years have not so thoroughly blended as to be altogether undistinguishable. These differences are most remarkable on the northern coasts of the peninsula. The people who are supposed to be descendants of the insular Britons—or “Bretonats”—have tall figures, blue eyes, and fair hair. These people for the most part affect the Isles of Bas and Ushant. On the other hand, the Bretons—or “Gallos”—removed more

from the seaboard, are for the most part of rather short stature, swarthy complexion, and rounded heads, while all through the north and middle part of Brittany the people are noted for their dark blue eyes.*

The Armorican, Breizad, or Brezonek, is the tongue still very generally spoken by the people, in at least three of the most western parts, though four sub-dialects, the Léonarde, the Trécorienne, the Cornouaillère (that is, Cornish), and the Vanneteuse, have been traced, the limits of which are coincident with the ancient bounds of dioceses. Among



VIEW IN PONT-AVEN, BRITTANY.

these Breton districts there is considerable rivalry. They have their own costumes, traditions, and prejudices, and attribute to each other vices which might be credited were not the same faults laid at the door of those making the charge by the very people thus severely judged. "As thievish as a Léonard, as treacherous as a Trégorois, as foolish as a Vannetais, and as boorish as a Cornouaillais," are common proverbs, to which no very exact meaning need be attached, though doubtless the reputation thus broadly indicated did not originate out of nothing.

The Breton dialect, which is most wide apart from all the others, is that spoken in the vicinity of Vannes, and if the tongue is to be preserved as a literary language—as following the latest craze for this description of "patriotism," some Bretons insist that it shall

* Roget de Belloguet: "Ethnogénie gauloise," ii. partie, p. 230; Broca: *Revue Scientifique*, 12th August, 1876, and *Bulletin de Société d'Anthropologie*, 1861.

be—the Trégorienne dialect is, perhaps, the one that will run the best chance of conservation, for in it we find most of the proverbs, characteristic sayings, and other popular literature of the language. Brezenek is not, however, a literary tongue in the same sense that Welsh and Irish are, and in this respect is not even comparable with the Gaelic. A few mystery plays, the oldest of which dates from the twelfth century, some religious works, a few

popular songs, and some poems and political writings of recent origin, constitute the principal treatises in the composition of which it has been employed. There is a single journal published in Low Breton, but so little patronage does this newspaper receive that it appears only once a month.* As a language, however, Breton is rapidly getting encroached on by French, and, as the specimen given in p. 183 so amply proves, the old tongue, even when spoken, is becoming corrupted with French words. Few of the Bretons are ignorant of French, and at Brest, Morlaix, and the chief cities which form a common meeting-place for the people, the diversity of the sub-dialects has compelled those using them at home to recur to French as the only practicable mode of communication. The idioms are rapidly becoming

altered, and, as in Gaelic (p. 190), where new ideas require to be imported into their speech, French is the only medium through which this can be done. It is not, as Gaelic is in the Highlands of Scotland, or Welsh in some districts of Wales, used in the schools. Hence the rising generation are losing it as an everyday tongue, and, above all, are becoming conscious that, though it may be very patriotic to scorn French, the men who speak nothing but Breton will have about as poor a chance of succeeding in life as the Belgian peasant who can only respond in Walloon to a question in the same dialect. French is the language of the "gentilshommes," Breton of the vulgar folk, and when this idea gains ground there must soon be a rapid desertion to the side which offers most social advantages.

To this day, notwithstanding the inroads by the Normans and the various turmoils which the country has undergone, the Breton, shut out from the world at large, occupying a peculiarly savage-looking land, and enduring a climate which is often foggy and stormy, has preserved many of the ancient Celtic characteristics in addition to others due to the physical conditions under which he exists. Like all his race, he is lively and imaginative, though looking at his sombre, melancholy, and often dull and indifferent appearance, one would scarcely imagine he had much of the *esprit* which his more Latinised countrymen are so proud of possessing. In France the Breton is proverbially fiery and conservative,

* "Buhez Santez Nonn," ou Vie de Sainte Nonne et son fils Saint Devy (1837); "Burzud braz Jésus," le Grande Mystery du Jésus (1865); "Barzas-Breiz," Chants Populaires de Bretagne et Luzel: "Chants Populaires de la Basse Bretagne" (1868—1874); Stokes: "Middle Breton Hours" (1876); Troude and Milin: "Gwerzion Breiz-tzel ar Marvailler Brezounek, Le Conte Breton, ou Contes Bretons" (1870); Troude: "Dictionnaire Français-Breton" (1869—1872); Le Gonidec: "Dictionnaire Breton-Français et Français-Breton" (1847—1850).



PEASANTS OF FINISTÈRE, BRITTANY.

generally bigoted in his faith, and often religious to the verge of being fanatical. During the Revolution, Brittany was the region where the Royalists held out longest; in 1832 it saw some of the renewed efforts of the "Chouanerie," or Duke of Bordeaux's party, on behalf of the fallen dynasty, until the rebellion was crushed by M. Thiers, and to this day the stronghold of "legitimacy," or, since the death of the Comte de Chambord, of monarchy generally, is in Brittany. No man clings to his old habits, the belief of his ancestors, and his peculiar dress, more keenly than the Breton. By nature he is conservative. Agriculture, especially dairy work, is still his principal occupation. Manufactures, except in the towns, are not taken kindly to, and railways he does not find a necessity of life. Bee-keeping is in especial favour, and the tenants of their hives the apiarists regard with a pride which savours of affection. The Church receives in Brittany greater devotion than in almost any other district of France, though the Christianity which is so devoutly followed is tinctured with a good deal of the pagan rites, ideas, or observances, which up to the seventeenth century were openly practised in many parts of the country. It is, perhaps, needless adding that witches and fairies, charms and their antidotes, are important elements in the popular creed, and that the great stone monuments, cromlechs and tombs—are associated in the peasant legends with tales gruesome and wild.* The manners of the Low Bretons differ somewhat from those of the Bretons who are supposed to have inhabited the country before the migration from England began, and may be due to the longer isolation which they endured. The costumes in different parts of the peninsula vary considerably, both in cut and colour. Violet, scarlet, and blue, are most in favour as the hue of both the men's and women's dress, and in the cut of their garments the people approximate nearer to the fashion of the Middle Ages than to that in vogue anywhere else in France. In brief, so primitive are the Bretons that they may be regarded as still in a sort of transition stage from the Middle Ages to the happier but more prosaic times in which we live. Part of the Pontusval Peninsula, on the Léonais coast to the north of Lesneven, has long been known as the "Ar paganiz," or pagan country, owing to the fact that the inhabitants of this section practised idolatrous customs long after the rest of the people had ceased to observe them openly. Wrecking was one of the principal indus-



PEASANT OF RIEC, BRITTANY.

* Renan: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1876, and Halleguen: *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 1861.

tries of the fisher folk, false lights being suspended in order to lure the unwary mariner to these shores; a lantern tied to a cow's tail appearing in a pitch-dark night not unlike a ship's light dancing up and down with the motion of the vessel. In the environs of Tréguier there exists a chapel where the people were wont to invoke "Our Lady of Hate"—the female goddess to whom the wife prayed for the death of a husband whom



WAGGONER OF FINISTÈRE, BRITTANY.

she hated, or the son for the death of a parent whose long life kept him out of his tardy heritage. As late as 1658 the clergy had to issue a solemn rebuke to the people, owing to their persistent practice of offering gifts or sacrifices to the devil and other ancient gods of the Celtic cultus, on the flat tops of the dolmens scattered so extensively over the length and breadth of Brittany. Even towards the close of last century a corner of every farm was reserved by the peasants for the use of the Evil One, as a bribe to keep him from doing injury to the rest of the fields. Many of the natural blocks of stone are still regarded with awe, and there are few of the ancient monuments referred to which the peasant cares

to pass after nightfall, so persistent are the superstitions inherited from a former condition of life, and preserved in this solitary Continental stronghold of the Celtic race.

Whether it is because the peculiar language of the Celts has to a certain extent shut them out from the enlightenment which has been the lot of the peoples around them, or on account of the wild lands into which they have been driven acting as a fitting nurse to such gruesome memories, the Celt—be he Breton or Gael, Cornishman or Irishman—has managed to preserve pagan “survivals” far longer than the races who practised these rites more recently. This fact we have more than once mentioned, and it is not necessary to go to Brittany for examples in illustration. The people of St. Kilda in the Hebrides, long after they were nominally Presbyterians, offered up animals on altars in various portions of their rocky home. In Ross-shire, as late as 1656, the people sacrificed, on the



HARVESTING IN FINISTÈRE, BRITTANY.

25th of August, bulls to “St. Mourie,” and, among other heathen rites, practised divining. At Gareloch, also, they sacrificed “beestes” on the same day, as well as drink offerings of milk. In some parts of the same district a cock is, or was, buried in the floor to obtain relief for epileptic patients; and in other diseases, as a last resource, the fowl’s throat was cut, and its blood allowed to run into the hole, which was then carefully covered up. Fire worship, we have seen (p. 212), is to this day common in many parts of Great Britain. Our familiar phrase, “hauling over the coals,” is connected with the same rite as that personified in “leaping through the fire” during the “Beltane days,” in Perthshire, and the “burning of the Clavie,” a New Year’s custom at Burghead, on the southern shores of the Moray Frith, is an even more gross instance of the tardiness with which heathen orgies die out of a Christian country.*

* Bouet: “*Breiz-izél, ou Vie des Bretons de l’Amorique*” (1844); Reclus: “*La France*,” pp. 612-621; Palliser: “*Brittany and its Byeways*” (1869); Du Chatellier: “*L’Agriculture et le class agricoles de la Bretagne*” (1802); Courson: “*Histoire de Peuples Bretons dans la Gaule et dans les Iles Britannique*” (1847); Souvestre: “*Le foyer Breton*” (1875).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ITALIC PEOPLES: THEIR ORIGIN, RAMIFICATIONS, AND DIVISIONS.

WE have now bid farewell to the Celts as a race of whose separate existence we need not take further cognisance. But they are a troublesome people, not only to the politician, but to the ethnologist. They are singularly pervading, and appear in the places where their presence is often extremely inconvenient to the manufacturer of racial "classifications." France is, for example, what is vaguely called a Latin country. It speaks a Latin tongue, except here and there on its borders where German, and, as we have seen, Celtic, still keep their own. But France is at bottom Celtic. Its original inhabitants were Celtic Gauls, though Roman blood poured into the country, and here and there Scandinavian—that is, Teutonic from the North, and pure German, which is, of course, Teutonic from over the Border, and Italian—which may be regarded as for all intents and purposes as Roman—oozed into it in other directions. But there is no reason for believing that the influences mentioned did much to efface the Celtic basis. They altered the language, it is true; imparted to the people fresh manners, and generally overlaid them with a thin varnish of Latin civilisation. There is thus a Celtic foundation, strengthened with Italian elements, while the superstructure is German, Gothic, Frank, and Burgundian, the whole being fused into the people we call French. Yet after the ethnologist has finished his analysis there is little room left for any such people—they are an amalgam of many nations.

It is thus seen that the boundaries of the ethnologist are very different from those of the politician. The political borders of a country are often crossed by those which mark out the limits of a race; though, as a rule, the people speaking the same language manage, sooner or later, to live under the same rule, speech being an infinitely greater bond of unity than blood. The ethnologist, therefore, knows little, if aught, of the so-called "nations of Europe." The British people he sees to be composed of a variety of different races; the French we have shown to be equally a fusion of others quite as various. When a man describes himself as an "Austrian," he conveys no idea to the ethnologist except that he is a subject of the Emperor of Austria, who governs a region inhabited by Germans, Slavs, Italians, and other nationalities. Austria itself is a mere political expression. The Swiss he does not know, for though there is a nation of that name, the ethnologist recognises in the mountaineers who have so long maintained their independence in the least accessible portions of the Alps, only the overflow of the Italians on one side, of the German on the other, and of the French over a third portion of their boundary line, with, it is quite possible, at the base of all, an aboriginal tribe or two, belonging to some of the component members of these nations, which have always had their home in the mountain fastnesses, where their mongrel descendants now live. The Germans, though more pure, we shall see are not unmixed with many other peoples, the ubiquitous Celt not excluded; while the Spaniards and Portuguese, though seemingly essentially "Latin," are in reality about as much, or as little Latin, as the rest of the nations now speaking a Latin tongue. As for Russia, though the Slavs predominate,

there are numerous other peoples, widely different from them, who take their share in the composition of "the Russians." When we come to the Italians we find something not widely different from what prevails on the outside of their country proper. In the north Italy is Ligurian and Etruscan, with a dash of Celtic, and in the regions occupied by the people once known as Umbrians, Sabines, and Samnites, there is, as Latham pointed out, Celtic blood. The South is nearly Greek. Even in the time of the Romans the country "must have been more Italian in language than in blood." And so it is now—the most Italian parts of it being the more inaccessible districts of the middle third of the Peninsula, the country of the Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, and similar allied populations. Yet even here has been in all probability admixtures from the time of the Republic to our own; for, apart from the many inroads made by the barbarians, some of whom remained permanently as colonists, the Roman army was so heterogeneous, so recruited from subject or absorbed races, that it would be quite as correct to term the soldiers of our native Indian army Englishmen, as to describe every legionary as a Roman. The chances are that he might have been a Gaul,—that is, a Celt—a German, a Slav, a Briton—Celt again—or a Berber from Africa. Again, when the Empire was breaking up, Vandals and Gepidae, and even Sarmatians, poured in, followed by the Huns and other Turkish hordes, Bulgarians who were more or less Ugrian, and Germans of many tribes, some of whom—settled in the country, and, like the so-called Cimbri, in the hills above Bassano, on the Brenta, thirty miles north of Venice—remain to this day speaking a distinctly Teutonic tongue. The Ostrogoths, not themselves unmixed with Slavo-Turkish blood, settled in the best parts of the country to the number of two hundred thousand, and remained, though they subsequently lost political power. Bavarians, Suabians, and Alemanni—all Germans—poured down to take tithe of the wealth of Italy, and still later the Lombards ruled over the entire country, the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Duchy of Beneventum excepted, though even these in turn also fell into foreign hands. Since that date, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Austrians—that is, almost anything, though perhaps mainly German—and Albanians have contributed of their blood to make up the people we call Italian. It would thus be all but impossible, and certainly if possible, impracticable, to hunt all over Europe for every person entitled to be classed as a Celt, an Italian, a Greek, a German, or a Slav, and to analyse every nationality into its most minute and oftentimes doubtful elements. All that we can do is to say that in this country or in that there is a preponderance of this blood or of that blood, and describe them under the names they have received in modern times. And perhaps, except to the over-exacting anthropologist, this course would be sufficiently correct. It may, of course, be agreeable for the craniologist, armed with his callipers, to range Italy taking measurements, or for the philologist to detect, or to believe that he detects, in some barbarous dialect the traces of an alien ancestry, and then from these materials to form a fresh "classification." But in time these foreign elements have got fused in the crucible of government, until habits have approximated to tongues, and prejudices have become one with the prejudices and aspirations of those who think in the same language, and must conform their habits to the same set of laws. Thus, we all know what is meant by a Frenchman, or an Italian, or a Russian, or a German, or a Scandinavian, or an Englishman, or even by a Roumanian, a Servian, a Montenegrin, a Greek, or a Turk, albeit not one of these peoples can boast of an ancestry which is not crossed by alien blood. Accordingly, in the

chapters which follow we shall describe the Italic people under the heads of (1) Italians (proper), (2) Corsicans, (3) Maltese, (4) French, (5) Spaniards, (6) Portuguese, (7) Roumanians, and (8) Swiss, mentioning the limits of each as we proceed, the Maltese and the Swiss being, it must be understood, ranged in this division more for the sake of convenience than of strict accuracy, for the little English island in the Mediterranean, though largely peopled from Sicily, speaks a Semitic dialect, and is more Arab than Italian, though not sufficiently Arab to permit it to be bracketed with the Arabic countries; while the Switzers are in some cantons Italian, in others German, and in a third set more French than anything else. All of the languages spoken by these peoples must be traced up to the old Latin, which is nowadays spoken in the vulgar vernacular "Romance" idioms only, classical Latin having long ago dropped, the Hungarian legislature being perhaps the only body of people who used it as a medium of communication so late as this century (p. 30).

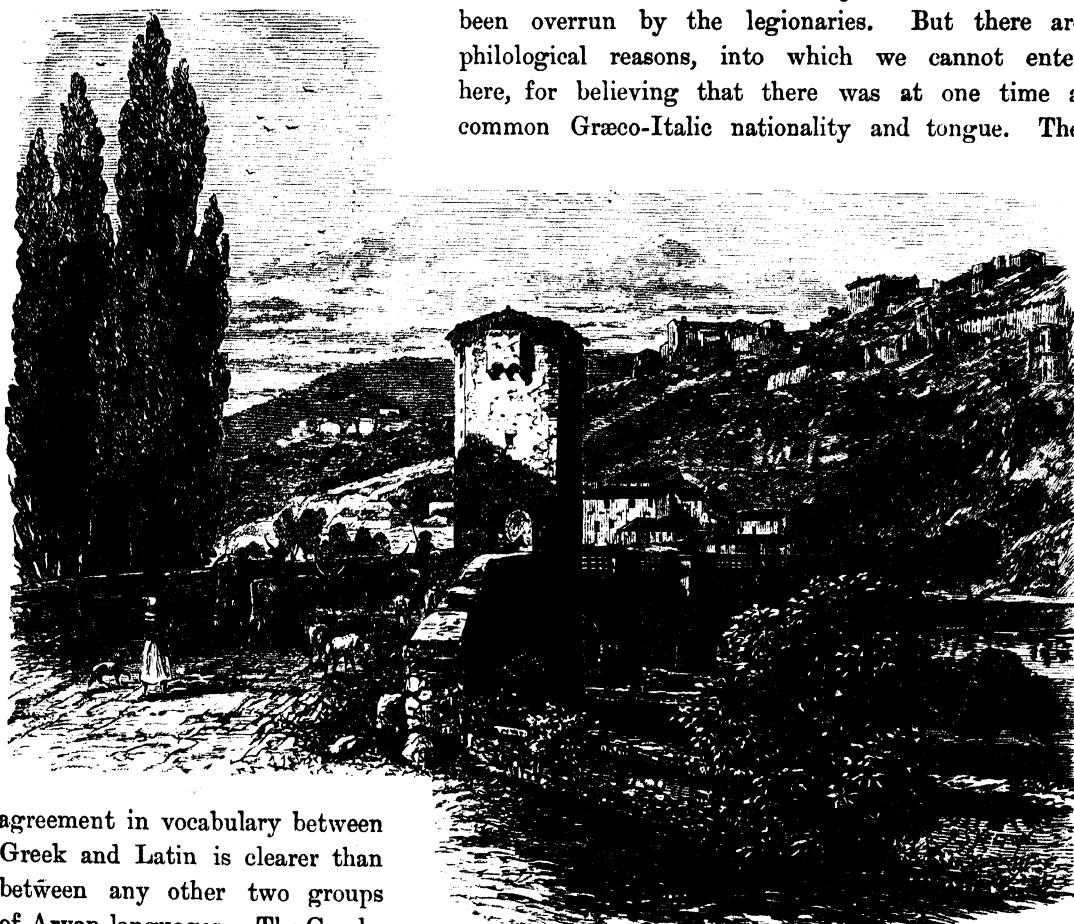
The Italic group is therefore a purely linguistic one. It is totally unfounded on an ethnic basis. How could it be? It is convenient, no doubt, to talk of the "Latin people." These words, however, deceive no one, for of course the Mexican Indians and Negroes who speak Spanish are no more relations of the Castilians, who taught them their mother-tongue, than are the blacks of the West Indies or of the United States of the English, in whose service they learned to forget their original African dialects. Here and there in Italy one sights a face which recalls the heads seen on the Roman friezes, just as in Greece we see profiles which recall those in the museums. But the ancient Greek features have almost as completely disappeared out of modern Greece as have the ancient Roman features vanished from the banks of the Tiber, while they never gained much of a footing in either France or Spain, and in Roumania have been submerged by those of the gypsies and other wanderers to whom, physiognomically at least, the descendants of the Dacian colonists succumbed.

Having thus cleared the ground, it may be well to ask, what was this Latin tongue, which, next to the English, has spread most widely, and what were the relations between the people who spoke it and those who used Greek, which ran rivalry with it as the great speech of civilisation, literature, and general culture?

At one time it was more universally believed than at present that Latin was derived from Greek, or *vice versa*, and that therefore the Greeks and the Latins must be put into the same family. It is not even yet, we believe, held by any one whose opinions need delay this discussion, that the two peoples came into Europe in ethnic waves as distinct as those represented by the Celts or Slavs. Only they had separated from each other at so early a date in the history of the Aryan immigration that perhaps it would be best to treat the people as distinct races, of whom, in the opinion of some students, the Greek is the older. Dr. Latham, in common with some later writers, maintains that Greece received its population from Italy, and that at a subsequent date colonies—as are known—came from Greece and settled on the southern coasts of Italy. It would thus follow that the two races must have much in common, even if we do not admit that their languages sprang from the same branch of the Aryan trunk. Latin, when it first appears in history, was the language spoken in Latium—or that portion of Italy which adjoined the Tyrrhenean Sea* on

* That is, the particular portion of the Mediterranean lying between the Islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily on the west, and the Italian Peninsula on the east.

the west, and was situated between Etruria and Campania. Three centuries before the Christian Era it was still confined, as a vernacular, to this district, though the conquering arms of Rome were rapidly carrying it farther and farther from its original home, until long before the breaking up of the Empire it had practically become the tongue of all who aimed at culture in the provinces which had been overrun by the legionaries. But there are philological reasons, into which we cannot enter here, for believing that there was at one time a common Græco-Italic nationality and tongue. The



APPROACH TO NARNI, UMBRIA.

agreement in vocabulary between Greek and Latin is clearer than between any other two groups of Aryan languages. The Greeks and Italians not only share—as do many of the other Aryan

tongues—the same terms for agriculture, but they possess certain words which—like those for wine and oil—are found only on Greek and Italian soil. Others, again, which are used with an indefinite meaning by the European peoples generally, are (as Fick and Curtius show) specialised and differentiated in Græco-Italic. We are, therefore, not without some ground for holding to the once general belief of Latin and Greek having been at one time spoken by a people who had common interests, and required a common medium of communication to express their ideas. Latin, however, absorbed in its spread numerous other dialects. There were, indeed, several distinct languages spoken outside the bounds of Latium, when first this historical region becomes familiar to the reader. Of the Iapygian

in the south-east we know too little to say anything certain regarding it, or even to affirm that it belonged to any known group of tongues. The other dialects have been ranged in the great group known as the Umbro-Sabellian, and included Umbrian, Oscan, and Samnite, the language spoken by the Sabines, the Marsi, and the Volscians, of which nowadays only the scantiest fragments remain. The Latin dialect may, not improbably, have extended in prehistoric times much more widely than it did before the Hellenising influences of the Greek colonists, or the conquests of the Sabellian invaders had contracted within the bounds of Latium. Yet, both the Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian had certain characteristics in common which lead us to class them as members of the same linguistic group, though it is perhaps too much to contend that all of them sprang from the Etruscan—for it is not by any means certain that the Etruscan was an Aryan language, and still less that the Umbro-Sabellian group were the progenitors of the classical Latin. That, however, the Latins are more allied to the Greeks than to any other nationality—though an attempt has been made to find a nearer congener in the Celts—may be accepted as a proposition not admitting of much doubt, while the probability of there having at one time been a common Helleno-Italic nationality is so strong that Professor Wilkins has been able to trace very clearly the stages by which the two tongues diverged from each other. This is, however, not the place in which to discuss mere philological questions, and still less to recount the history of the rise and fall of the Latin, or, as it is usually termed, the Roman Empire.

NORTH ITALIAN TRIBES.

When Italy first comes before the historian we find it inhabited by various tribes which in time merged into the Empire, and, so far as their nationality and language were concerned, got lost in the Latin flood, so that at the present time in the Peninsula itself there are spoken only the various dialects of Italian which is one of the modern derivants of the Latin, this Latin being in earlier times only the language of a not very important people of one of the districts of the country which they subsequently, as it were, absorbed. Northern Italy was early settled by Gauls, Ligures, and a people whose name has been preserved and is the modern title of the Venetians. The Gauls we need not further discuss; they are already familiar to us (p. 166); and the Ligures, it has been hinted on what is as good authority as any other, were one of these prehistoric people, to whose scanty history a considerable portion of our earlier chapters have been devoted (p. 140). But as no trace of their language has been preserved, any and every theory as to their origin and affinities must be purely conjectural, and it is as likely as not that the idea that they were Iberians is as well founded as any other which has been promulgated, and then refuted to make room for another view equally specious and equally unsupported by sound evidence. The Veneti or Venetians who occupied the north-eastern portion of the great plain of Northern Italy cannot with much certainty be affiliated with any other race, though they have been assigned to almost every people, from the Wends on the shores of the Baltic to the Illyrians on the shores of the Mediterranean. It is very probable that they were comparatively recent invaders, and possibly identical with the

Veneti of Brittany (p. 215), and therefore, of course, Celts. Even as late as the time of Pliny, there lingered in the Italian valleys of the Alps remnants of the Euganeans, who seem at one time to have been a powerful people who occupied a wide region from which they had been driven by the Veneti. They, like another tribe of the same region—namely, the Carni—have got absorbed or have vanished, but the name at least of the former lives in the Euganean Hills, which the traveller, hurrying from Padua to Verona, catches glimpses of from the carriage windows.

THE UMBRO-SABELLIANS.

The ethnology of Northern Italy is, however, simple compared with that of the central and southern portion of the Peninsula. Here, under the general name of Italians, have in course of ages been consolidated many tribes, speaking, no doubt, very varied languages, and originally of origins more or less dissimilar. The Iapygian or Messapians and Cenotrians of the south were evidently a family by themselves (p. 226). Monuments reared by them have survived to the present day, but as yet the inscriptions on them have remained undeciphered. The chances, however, are that they were the oldest race of this portion of Italy, and were Plasgi, that is, a people who formed the original colonists both of Greece and of the Italian Peninsula, in the immediate vicinity of the Mediterranean, and that both the races alluded to—the Iapygians and Cenotrians—were nearly allied, and therefore, if the theory hinted at be adopted, of Aryan stock.

The Umbro-Sabellian family, or, plainly speaking, the "Italians" of Central Italy, were much more important peoples than those mentioned, for they form the basis of the races who at a later date made so much of the world's history. Probably, as Mommsen has conjectured, the Latins of Latium were the first immigrants of the Aryan race which passed into Southern Europe from Asia, and having crossed the Apennines from the north, drove the Iapygians before them, finally cooping them up in the Calabrian Peninsula, which is more familiarly known as the "heel" of the Italian "boot." Greek colonies soon Hellenised these races, until in Latium alone the primitive dialect kept its own, it being in its turn destined to override, transform, and absorb all the others. The other Umbro-Sabellian tribes—whether known as Umbrians, Sabines, Volscians, Oscans, or what not—were apparently later arrivals. The advance of this branch of the race can still be traced along the Apennines from north to south, until the conquest of the region of Campania by the Samnite Highlanders, and is an event of which ordinary history takes cognisance. The Sabines are generally regarded as the oldest members of the Umbro-Sabellian family, and to have been the progenitors of the Marsi, Peligni, Picentes, Vestini, Samnites, Aequians, Marrucini, Frentani, and partly also of the Volscians and Hernicans, though the latter speculation cannot be regarded as fully established. Indeed, in the glimpses we get of the Volscians in early Roman history, they are represented as politically distinct from the other members of the Latin League, and speaking a language which was neither Latin nor Oscan, a statement confirmed by

the few fragments of it which have descended to us. In the famous Eugubine Tables we have an important series of inscriptions in the Umbrian language, which establish



PEASANT OF THE MOUNTAINS OF LUCCA.

clearly the facts we have sketched, and prove—were proof necessary—that they were in no way related to the Celtic tribes. Before they came in contact with the advancing power of Rome the might of the Umbrians was on the wane, for they had been attacked by Gauls and Etruscans from two sides, until the Romans found their conquest a

comparatively easy task. The tongue of the Sabines is totally lost; not a single inscription has come down to us, thus fortifying the opinion of Mr. Bunbury that



COUNTRY WOMAN OF LUCCA.

at an early period in the history of Italy they had permitted their language to fall into disuse in favour of the growing spread of the Latin.

The Oscans, though occupying a great portion of Central Italy, are never spoken of by ancient writers as a distinct people, though it is convenient to keep up the term as

designating various tribes, such as the Samnites, Campanians, Lucanians, and Bruttians, all bracketed in the Sabellian group. Numerous inscriptions in the Oscan tongue have descended to us, and from the fact that sentences in it are scratched on the walls of Pompeii, it must have been employed in every-day vernacular long after it had ceased to be the official tongue of the whole southern portion of the Peninsula.

THE ETRUSCANS.

But a race even more interesting than any of the preceding—the Latins of course excepted—were the Etruscans, or people of Etruria, who formed the third great family of tribes, who, the people of the north aside, made up the races, who were in time Romanised and Latinised. The Etruscans have left plenty of remains behind them—inscriptions, monuments, sculptures, paintings, entire cities—and have been the subject of more books than we can find space to even mention. Yet to-day we are about as far from being certain of anything regarding their origin and relationship as we were when first the theme attracted the attention of scholars. Etruria, Tyrrhenia, or Tuscia embraced, at one time, prior to the foundation of Rome, nearly the whole of Italy, and some of its western islands, and to this day, from the heart of Tyrol, Etrusean remains are often unearthed. But modern Etruria is the region we now know as Tuscany, Lucca, and the Transtiberine portion of the old Papal Dominions, comprising a great deal of country at present covered with malarious marshes or thick unproductive forests, but which in earlier times was cultivated by a dense population of lettered, warlike, and industrious people, whose headquarters were the twelve semi-independent cities of Etruria, some of which, like the home of the Tarquins, more than once threatened the very existence of Rome. In time, however, Etruria became a Roman province, and then, under the influence of the higher culture which naturally infiltrated through the country, the Etruscans lost their own distinct creed, customs, language, and traditions, until before the dawn of the Christian Era, Etruria was to all intents and purposes Roman. Its heterogeneous races and tribes had abandoned their ancient tongue and ancient faith, and taken on that of their conquerors, whose proceedings and wars it is no part of our business to follow in these brief notes on the Etruscan people. Brave enough to give the most soldierly people in the world a vast amount of trouble, the Etruscans in the heyday of their prosperity were by no means so warlike as the Romans. They were in the habit of hiring mercenaries to fight their battles, while they themselves devoted their energies to the more profitable, if less exciting pursuits of commerce or piracy, which in their loose code of morals was only another branch of trade and the art of acquiring property. So thoroughly recognised was their pre-eminence as the great commercial people of Italy, that all the neighbouring States adopted their system of coinage, and based alike their weights and measures, as well as many of their political institutions, on those of the Etruscans, who, on account of the country being portioned between twelve cities, took twelve as the number in which they divided everything divisible after this fashion. The appearance of the Etruscans was widely different from that of the Umbro-Sabellians with

whom they warred. Their heads were large and their bodies thickset, while their character and faith were austere and gloomy in the extreme. Hades was to them a frightful region, and Heaven a Paradise, in which continual intoxication was the principal delight. Mysticism of the gloomiest, most repulsive form, pervaded all their religious rites. The sacrifice of prisoners was regarded as acceptable to the gods, most of whom were of an evil or mischievous character, and were very numerous and varied in functions. Augury, by means of the Haruspices, whose lore the Romans adopted and practised about as keenly as did their teachers, was an important Etruscan institution. From an examination of the entrails of animals, the flight and cries of birds, and so forth, they decided when it would be proper to begin or end any piece of work, how portents and prodigies were to be interpreted, what rites were to be observed at the building of cities, &c. As the Etruscans became better acquainted with the Romans and Greeks their austerity wore off, and their Pantheon became in part at least peopled with more joyous deities than those which had filled it in former days. The later paintings on the walls of their houses show them carousing, dancing, running races, blowing horns, and generally conducting themselves very differently from what seems to have been their wont in the earlier and more primitive periods of Etruscan manners. Women among them were always respected. A wife was the companion, not the slave, of her husband, and though the Etruscans were never so austere in their morals as they were in their religion, it was only in the years preceding their decay as a nation that they abandoned themselves to the licentiousness of which we hear so much from the Roman historians. As artists they ranked high. The remains of their cities prove that in architecture they were supreme; while the numerous statues, wall-paintings, and other remnants of their craft, are evidences of their skill in this respect, though latterly, no doubt, the traces of Greek and Roman handiwork became so numerous as to efface the pristine Etruscan style.

More than three thousand specimens of the Etruscan language are known to exist. Yet to-day we are not much nearer a decided opinion regarding the origin and relations of the Etruscans than we were before the study of these remains and their philological history had become a favourite pursuit with scholars. They have been affirmed to be merely a family of the Latin race, while there are or have been advocates for the Celtic, German, Slavic, Albanian, Semitic, and, as we have seen, Basque—that is, Iberian (p. 140)—origin of these people; while Dr. Isaac Taylor has pronounced for the Turanian kinship of the Etruscans. The idea that the people are of Italic origin owing to the Latin element in the tongue may probably be owing to the fact that, on account of their near neighbourhood to the provinces speaking the tongue of Latium, elements of a foreign admixture crept in; otherwise it would hardly be possible for so many and so varied views regarding its affinity to be held, and even for the fact of its Aryan origin being loudly questioned by some of the most weighty authorities who have devoted themselves to the study of its existing remains. In these circumstances it may be wise to maintain an attitude of reserve, while open to any fresh light which may be brought to bear upon so puzzling a question as the nature of the Etruscan language, and, of course, of the relationship of Etruscans also.*

* Corssen: "Die Sprache der Etrusker" (1874—75); Ottfried Müller: "Die Etruscer" (1877); Taylor: "Etruscan Researches" (1874); Deecke: "Etrusische Forschungen" (1875—76); Lattes: *Rendiconti del Real Instituto Lombardo*, May 28th, 1884; Pauli: "Etrusche Forschungen und Studien" (1880), &c.

NEO - LATINS.

By-and-by, however, all these tribes became absorbed into the Roman Empire, and their tongues into the Latin speech of the conquerors, to which it no doubt contributed certain elements, though these elements, owing to the fact that Latin had already become



MAIN STREET OF BARGA, NORTH TUSCANY.

a literary dialect, were more marked in the vernacular of the various districts than in the written tongue which has come down to us. Latin, then, had become the language of Italy long before the disruption of the Empire, after which period it broke into a variety of dialects and corrupt patois. In Italy itself it became Italian in its numerous widely different forms. In Switzerland and the neighbouring region we have the Rhæto-Roman form of the tongue. In Southern France, and some parts of Spain and the Balearic Islands, the Langue d'oc idiom prevails, and in the greater portion of France the Langue d'oïl dialect, which is more familiarly known as French and Walloon. In Spain and Portugal

we have two other forms of the disrupted Latin, and in Roumania and the immediate neighbourhood there survives a form of it introduced by the Dacian colonists, mixed with words derived from the people amongst whom these immigrants settled. At first the term Italy was applied only to the most southern portion of the Peninsula, but as the conquest of the Roman—or Italian—arms extended, the word rapidly embraced the entire Peninsula, and hence it was only in a provincial sense that such terms as Campania, Etruria, and



WOMEN OF CHIOGGIA (VENICE).

Latium were employed. However, though politically the component tribes or nations of Italy ceased to have any existence, the eleven provinces into which the country was divided for administrative purposes, until the invasion of the Lombards broke up the system, were to a large extent based upon their old territorial limits. It is also probable that the modern Italian dialects retain traces of the varied tongues which have got incorporated with the Latin. These dialects of the Neo-Latin or Italian differ from each other more markedly than the English dialects, or those of Spanish, while in many parts of the country—in Upper Italy more especially—the people, even when highly educated, cling most tenaciously to their oftentimes hardly intelligible speech.*

* Orlandini: "Raccolta di dialetti italiani con illustrazioni etnologiche" (1864).

Tuscan is, however, the typical or literary language of Italy, though in some form or other it is spoken as their native speech over the whole kingdom of Italy, in the Swiss Canton of Ticino, and part of the Grisons, in the Austrian districts of Trent and Görz, in Istria along with Trieste, on the Dalmatian coasts, in the French island of Corsica, and, as we shall see with wide differences, in the English island of Malta. The Italians having always been great colonists, especially along the shores of the Mediterranean, their tongue is very extensively spoken in the Ionian Islands, in the maritime cities of the Levant, in some parts of Lower Egypt, and in Tunis, where great numbers of Maltese reside, and will, before long, be dominant in Tripoli and by the shores of the Red Sea, since Assab and Massowah have become Italian towns. If, however, the traveller desires to hear good cultured Italian spoken, he must take up his residence in Florence, and, as Master Howell has it in his "Instructions for Forreine Travell" (1642), "not stirre thence till he be master of the language in some measure," and not stay long in Genoa, since the "worst dialect of all is spoken there," and, if we are to believe the traveller of the seventeenth century, in that city are the worst morals, and, near it, the worst scenery also. For, according to the proverb, there are in "Genoa, mountains without wood, sea without fish, women without shame, and men without conscience, which makes them to be termed the White Moores. And when a Jew meeteth with a Genovian, and is to negotiate with him, he puts his fingers in his eyes, fearing to be overreached by him, and outmatched in cunning." This ill-natured remark of Charles the First's Clerk of the Privy Council may serve to close these notes introductory to the Italic people. We may now try and ascertain how far such strictures are deserved by describing, in a few chapters, some of the principal characteristics of the Italians proper.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ITALIANS: CONDITION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS; THE CAMORRA, ETC.

No country has been more frequently visited by intelligent, sympathetic, or highly-educated travellers than the classic land of Italy. The man who has been steeped in Roman history feels a thrill at the first view of the broken arches which tell of a vanished culture, such as he experiences at the sight of no other fragment of man's handiwork, and as he examines for the first time in their own squalid homes, the swarthy, ever-graceful people in whose veins runs the blood of the most remarkable race whom the world ever knew, unless we except the Greeks, it is not easy to ask him to arrive at an unprejudiced judgment regarding them. He is in the beginning inclined to be all on the side of romance. Yet after a time he is apt to suffer so severe a reaction, that it is sometimes said foreigners go to Italy only to abuse Italians.

Hence, after canvassing the opinions of a hundred writers, each of whom professes to have arrived at his conclusions after the utmost heart-searching, one is puzzled to form any decisive view in regard to Italian character. One author is sweeping in his condemnation; another is

just as dogmatic in pronouncing the nation a much injured one. Perhaps the wise man may find it prudent to accept neither extreme. The truth is that though the modern Italians have many characteristics in common, and are in physical appearance evidently more or less alike, their varied origin and the numerous more or less complete transformations which certain cities or sections of the country have undergone, must have greatly altered their original nature, and given particular places peculiar traits.

VARIED CHARACTERISTICS.

Nor must it be forgotten that the modern Kingdom of Italy, with its uniform laws and institutions, is a very recent institution. Italy had previously, for hundreds of years, been broken up into numerous little States, and at a still earlier date each city had a more complete autonomy and political life than was the rule in the other parts of Europe. All of these facts have impressed on the Italian nation certain marked features. Naples, for instance, is very different from Rome, and the Neapolitans are in their character and disposition as widely apart from the Romans as are the towns which they inhabit. It is considered sometimes hard to believe that the inhabitants of these two cities are the same people. The progress of railways and the unification of the laws of the country have done much to tone all Italy down to the same uniform level. But even yet when one sees the quiet, almost gloom, of the older streets of the purely native districts of Rome, and the eternal chatter, noise, and revelry of the city by the Bay of Naples, the visitor feels that the mere fact of the one place having for years been governed by priests, while the other was the "sink of Christendom," the haunt of pleasure to which the spendthrifts and plunderers of Europe hied with their hard-earned or ill-gotten gains, could not alone make the great difference which is patent to the least observant. Naples seems to be enjoying a continual carnival. The people, as Mr. Justice Whiteside remarked many years ago—and the verdict is still as sound as ever—seem never to appear in their real characters, the business of life is turned into a masquerade. The delightful climate in which they live may have had much influence on the habits of the Neapolitans, their want of education and of industry more. Naples is a thickly populated town. But to a stranger it seems more crowded than it really is, for as soon as the sun rises, the whole mass of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, rush with one consent into the streets, and continue there, shouting, grinning, dancing, or following their trades or occupations, till night drives them indoors. All the while little real business is done. For its size Naples has less trade than any similar city in the world. The people supply the want of business by never-ending noise and clamour. The New Italy of the last decade is, however, a very different country from the drowsy land which for ages and ages old Italy was, under its tyrants and listless *dilettanti*. The whirl of spindles and the clang of hammers are heard all over the realm. Sleepy cities are awaking to renewed life, and plains unploughed since the time of the Etruscans are once more being drained, and bloom with crops. And on the whole the revivers of what was at one time regarded as an effete people, though they have a long and an uphill task before them, have a fine material on which to work. Ages of oppression, centuries of grinding despotism, have implanted in the Italiar mind those traits of duplicity, which, like lying, are the natural protection of the weak. An

Italian is notoriously slippery, and bears the reputation of being the readiest to deceive when he appears the most friendly. Italy, as an old writer remarks, "is the prime climate of Com-



ROMAN BEGGARS.

pliment, which oftentimes puts such a large distance 'twixt the tongue and the heart, that they are seldom relatives, but they often give the lye one to another; some will offer to kisse the hands which they wish were cut off, and would be content to light a candle to the Devill, so they may compass their owne ends. He is not accounted especially wise who openeth all the

boxes of his breast to any one. The Italians are for the most part of a speculative complexion, and he is accounted little lesse than a foole who is not melancholy once a day ; they are only bountifull to their betters, from whom they may expect a greater benefit. To others the purse is closest shut when the mouth openeth widest ; nor are you like to get a cup of wine there, unlesse your grapes be known to be in the winepresse." Master Howell, whose opinion we quote, knew the people of whom he expresses so doubtful an



ROMAN GIRL OF THE TRASTAVERE (THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TIBER).

opinion. Nor perhaps is he less complimentary than some others who have succeeded him, though to admit that this is the character of the entire nation, and not at worst of the Neapolitans, Venetians, Romans, Genoans, or Florentines, who were the sections best known to the early travellers, would be a libel on a race who have many noble virtues. Even Howell will allow that they excel almost any other in Europe by the subtlety of their intellect, and now that they are freed from the incubus which restrained their energies, deprived them of the chief incentive to industry, and encouraged chicanery, the Italians are rapidly becoming one of the most enterprising of nations, as might be expected from the descendants of those who, to go no farther back than the Middle Ages, were the great merchants of the world.

Emigration is active, and the Italian, whenever he is found in New Orleans, in California, in Monte Video, or in Buenos Ayres, has the best of reputations for industry, application, and a peculiar capacity for making money where a less ingenuous person would starve. To some extent the taxation necessitated by Italy taking her place among the nations has stimulated this self-exile, but it is questionable whether the compulsory military duty, which is also part of the new order of things, has not also a great share in the dislike the poorer Italian has for staying at home, and helping to "make Italia," and the sudden assertion on the part of even the indolent Southerner to do the best for himself, be the country of his adoption on this or the other side of the Atlantic. They, too, have become self-conscious beings, and, like the rest of their country and countryfolk, have woke up from the torpor of centuries. Yet with all, Italy is, if potentially rich, actually poor. Prices are higher, if wages are high, and the needs of the workman bear no proportion to the means which he has to provide for his necessities. The winter always brings misgivings, and in whole regions, such as Lombardy, and in entire cities, such as Naples, a grinding misery, worse—far worse—than is known in London, is chronic among these light-hearted, almost unthinking, frugal, easy-going children of the sunshine. Italy is in need of all of her sons, for, were the State or private individuals to do all that is incumbent on them to do, there would be work for ages yet to come. As Mr. Gallenga pointed out several years ago, and the words are just as applicable to-day, before Italy can become what Italy ought to be, whole districts require to be reclaimed from the condition into which the sluggishness of their rulers and the indolence of their inhabitants have permitted them to drift. There are national and provincial roads to be constructed, the drainage of large and small towns to be attended to, great centres of life like Naples and Florence to be supplied with wholesome and plentiful water, extensive quarters in most cities, and especially in the capital, to be thrown open to air and light, and the wreck and ruin of centuries to be repaired. There is hardly a stream which could not be made to give back the good fertile lands which it has laid waste, hardly a swamp that should not be restored to its former condition of a garden, hardly a mountain side that should not again be marked "over with the fresh verdure of which blind improvidence or sheer wanton destructiveness has stripped it." Italy is not one-half, not one-fourth, as rich as she might be.

The Northerners are not really idle, and a soberer or steadier class is not to be found than the humble order of Italian labourers. The innate suspicion bred of ages of knavery is still strong in the character of the people, and to this is due the comparatively small way which the principle of co-operation has made among the wealthier middle classes. They are afraid of throwing their money into the common fund, doubtful of entrusting it to the honour or the discretion of strangers on the chance of seeing it back again after being spent on works of public utility. "The Government" is looked up to as the *Dens ex machina* which is to accomplish what in other countries men do for themselves. The Treasury is the universal milch-cow which is expected to supply nutriment for the hungry. Funds contributed by townships and parishes are reckoned as "private subscriptions," and it is a common complaint that the Italian communes are more prone to be munificent than provident administrators. Niggards when the real welfare of the people is concerned, they display all

the Italian love of autonomous glory by seldom grudging anything when, by spending money freely, they may confer lustre on their own locality. The land is bursting into an eruption of monuments to local dignitaries, and when there is not a statue to erect in honour of a "valoroso concittadino," there is some centenary or millenary to celebrate, Italy having made so much history that the supply of heroes and famous deeds never runs short. A showy ceremony, an "institute," a circus or a theatre, a "parasitic College or a barren Academy," can generally obtain funds; but the drainage of a swamp, or the dredging of a river, or the cleansing of a fever trap, appeals less to the Italian mind. The petty rulers of the country encouraged this kind of thing. They decorated their capitals and provided amusements to keep their subjects from thinking, but were too short-sighted to cast their coin into malarious plains, hoping that their descendants might obtain good interest in the happiness of their dukedom or the prosperity of their subjects. Things are, nevertheless, looking up. The increased value of land and the greater demand for Italian wine are making the capitalist look more kindly on the soil which has, since the memory of man runneth not, produced little save grass for the long-horned buffaloes, and fever for all who were unlucky enough to breathe after nightfall the air which it exhales. The cholera reminds the authorities that their drains require looking after, that it is difficult to pass the hot months in certain of the great cities under present conditions, that the festering soil, impregnated with the organic refuse of two thousand years, is a source of disease, and that by allowing things to remain undisturbed the modern Roman purchases the sentimental glory of watching strangers admire the remains of the past at too dear a price. Indolent many of the Southern Italians unquestionably are, though the *lazzaroni*, basking under every sunny wall, are no longer the familiar "institution" they were in the days of the Bourbons. There is, however, an excuse for them. They have nothing to do but to idle, they have no pinching cold, none of the gloom and dampness which keep men indoors in higher latitudes and make them bestir themselves when outside. The people are strong and healthy, otherwise the diet of prickly-pear fruits on which a Calabrian or Sicilian labourer will manage to prolong existence would be apt to put a speedy close to the life of such meagre-living folk. His wages are poor, but he finds solace in abundant idleness. "A real benefactor to Italy would be he who could contrive to make the lowest classes feel want, who could awaken in them the wholesome sensation of hunger, and point out the only means by which its pangs are honestly assuaged." Beggary has thus become an organised trade, and the better-to-do people encourage it instead of the half-hearted decrees of the Government to the effect that, "l'accattonaggio is strictly forbidden throughout the Peninsula."^{*} The Italy of to-day is, nevertheless, a yet more prosperous Italy than that which some of us—not very old—can remember well. Yet it is both to the residents and to the stranger an infinitely more expensive one. In the days which seem so far away, and yet are by no means so very distant, when custom-houses rose in front of one every score or so of miles, people were forced to eat of the fruits of the earth, for they could not sell them at a profit sufficient to pay for their own labour and meet the demands of the duke or prince, or king or pope, in whose territory they desired to find a market. In those days, which were blessed for "families desirous

* Gallenga: "Italy Revisited," vol. i., pp. 293, 294.

of economising," eggs were sold in Parma and Modena at 2½d. the dozen, butter at something less than 3d. the pound, and wine so cheaply that the peasants at a fair drank at discretion "so much per hour." This day is past. The Italian silk and the Italian wine are in demand, and the world has lived to see the beef and the butter of Lombardy sold in the London markets, and its fruit in Covent Garden.



MACARONI SHOP, NAPLES.

POVERTY AND FRUGALITY.

The Italians—high or low—are not so carnivorous as their good friends the English. The poor peasantry, even in the richest districts of the Northern plains, live almost exclusively on *polenta minestra*, a little mixed bread and vegetables, and from one year's end to the other rarely taste meat. It is, indeed, only on high festivals that they allow themselves lard or bacon, or a lean fowl reared on the grasshoppers of the neighbouring pasture land. As for butcher's meat, neither the townsmen nor the countrymen—unless in well-to-do circumstances—think of using anything like the amount which is regarded as indispensable by the same class in England. Yet, though the Italian eats little beef, the ox is to him all important, for it is his beast of burden. The entire labour of the country is done by cattle. They draw the plough, and carry the crops to market. In the plains—especially in

Northern Italy—they are fine sleek brutes, with “the gait and strength of elephants,” and the pride of their drivers, who, no matter how dirty they themselves may be, take care that, as



COSTERMONGER, NAPLES.

Mr. Gallenga puts it, no “speck of dirt settles on the fair, pearly, or straw-coloured hides of his darling cattle. No English squire’s hunters are more thoroughly groomed, more comfortably fed and stabled.”

But fat though the fields are, their cultivators are wretchedly poor. In a recent consular report, regarding the farm-labouring people of Lombardy, it is stated that the farther one goes in the region of the plains the better are the peasants' houses. Yet this fact does not save the population from the awful scourge of the skin disease known as pellagra, which, indeed, commits more ravages here than in the whole of the rest of Italy, and particularly prevails in the flax district. In the arrondissement of Lodi there are 4,030 cases of pellagra among 173,000 inhabitants, or about 24 per 1,000; in that of Cremona there are 4,190 cases among 175,000; and in Verulanova there are 3,400 cases among only 57,000, or 6 per cent. In Brescia and Chiari the proportion is 27 and 43 per 1,000 respectively. The reason of the spread of the disease in the flax district is attributed to the fact that maize is grown there as an autumn crop, and if the season be at all damp it does not ripen, or when matured cannot be properly dried, in which case it rapidly gets mildewed.* The inhabitants sell the good corn for export and live on the bad, which helps to generate the illness. It is hard to find the best remedies for these evils. To forbid entirely the cultivation of autumn maize on account of the pellagra, and of rice on account of the fever, would be like cutting off the patient's arm because he is wounded in the hand; it would appear preferable to eradicate the disease by a more stringent supervision of the housing and feeding of the peasant classes, and by the total prohibition of the manufacture of bread and polenta from bad maize corn, whether of native growth or imported from abroad. The wages of field labourers, even in the richest districts, are very small. A peasant family in the neighbourhood of Milan finds it difficult to earn more than £18 a year. Milk is abundant, and is in daily use, but apart from a participation in the produce of the ground, it is a problem how a labourer is to live on 6½d. a day. The highest average earnings of a family amount to £24. The tendency of former times was to employ many hands at small wages; the modern system is to use fewer labourers, but to pay them well, and this method will become more general with the greater adoption of agricultural machinery. The peasant is robbed by the miller and by every village tradesman, for he will not readily part with his money, but is always prepared to pay double the value of his purchases in kind. He buys the worst of every commodity. From diseased meat he makes rancid sausages, and he spends in a single Sunday at the inn, on bad wine and spirits or worse beer, as much as would provide good wine for his family once a week. Co-operation, well-directed charity, and the development of savings' banks, might do much to help them in bettering their condition, but the labourer *adscriptus glebae* will ever be lower in the social scale than the small owner who is independent, however poor he may be. The former has no cordial feelings towards the bailiff, steward, or tenant

* This, it may be remarked, is very doubtful. At one time this loathsome skin disease was supposed to be peculiar to the rice-producing districts of Northern Italy, and to be due solely to the habitual use of maize and rice as an article of diet. The view now held is that the disease is really the outward and visible sign of a group of phenomena, the most significant of which are mental. It shows itself in the worst forms as an affection in which tubercles and rough scales cover the skin, and in the patient being affected with debility, vertigo, epilepsy, and, among other symptoms, great depression of spirits, which in time settles into a form of melancholy, tending to suicidal mania. The person so afflicted usually tries to drown himself or herself, so that this form of rabies has been called hydromania. About one-third of the patients in the Milan Lunatic Asylums are "pellagrins;" but it is not confined to Italy, for it is common in Holland, where maize and rice are not used to any extent, and may therefore be regarded as caused by insufficient food, by filth, and undue toil.

of the farm on which he works ; family life is quite unknown to him ; for his family is scattered about during summer, and in winter is huddled together with a dozen other families in barns and sheds. Lastly, military service presses more severely on this region than elsewhere, since every youth may earn some wages, however small, to help the household in keeping the wolf from the door.

Lombardy and the Lombards are, however, waking up with the rest of the country. Out-of-door games are becoming popular ; bicycle races are common in many of the Italian cities ; the Campagna is already a well-known hunting-field ; and the Italian Alpine Club is quite as vigorous in climbing mountains as any of the others devoted to this moderately intellectual pursuit. Under the Austrian or Papal *régimes* games, native or foreign, were frowned on and interdicted, and even the old Italian sport called "Guico del Pallone" was proscribed. The citizens pass longer time than before in the *villettiatura*, or country holiday, and cultivate more wholesome domestic life than they did in the old days when the *Tedeschi* or Austrians were masters of their cities. Mr. Gallenga tells us that the whole style and tenor of Italian conversation are changed, and the morals which led to the alteration are equally marked for the better. Instead of flat opera criticism or ribald personal scandal, business is now the all-absorbing never-ending topic. It used to be politics, but that has somewhat paled, or it has assumed a local, almost a parochial character. The Milanese are, in truth, the most sober, least excitable, most thoughtful of all the Italian people.

However, this is wandering from the point at which we were arrived, namely, the social condition of the Italians generally. The country is potentially rich—the people actually poor, though there are several very great landowners, and an increasing number of merchants and manufacturers in every city, quite as wealthy as the average of their order elsewhere. As for the country, it is flooded with paper money and weighted with debt. Silver and gold are both at a premium, and at the present moment are practically not in circulation ; and yet the Italians go on erecting costly buildings after the style of their ancestors, for it is, as one of themselves remarks, a weakness of the nation to have everything monumental.

But the Lombards are North Italians, and in energy infinitely superior to the languid Southerners. During the reign of "the tyrants" there were plenty of poor people everywhere ; yet in those days their poverty was alleviated by various means. There was, of course, mendicancy, and a good deal of brigandage, and in the Two Sicilies—and practically throughout all Italy in one form or another—the extraordinary institution known in Naples as the "Camorra." This Secret Society affords a remarkable insight into the subtlety of the Italian character, its wonderful capacity for devising extraordinary means for the accomplishment of ordinary ends, and that less amiable aptitude for playing the conspirator, the spy, and the assassin, which has given the nation an evil odour, which, as a whole, it does not deserve.

SECRET SOCIETIES : THE CAMORRA.

Twenty or thirty years ago the traveller in any portion of the Two Sicilies had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with this powerful fraternity of the Camorristi—or, literally, "countrymen," the word being derived from "camorro," a peasant. He might

not be introduced to any of them, but he was sure, before leaving Naples, to become sensible of the subtle influence which they exercised over almost every department of public or private life. Originally a Secret Society, and to the last morbidly jealous of any one save the initiated penetrating their organisation, the Camorristi during the misrule of the Bourbons were not only tolerated, but were actually permitted to ply their infamous trade, in the hope that this permission to plunder the people might influence them in favour of the Government. The result was what might have been expected, for when Francis II., terrified at the measureless



ROMAN PRIESTS.

assurance of the Society, attempted its suppression, the members who escaped the wholesale capture and transportation decreed against them entered into alliance with the Garibaldians, and materially aided in the expulsion of King Bomba. Meantime, and for many years, they had a brave time of it. Knowing that their exactions were winked at, they boldly presented themselves in the markets, at places of public amusement, and at the street spectacles by which the Neapolitan rulers tried to make their subjects forget the manner in which they were misgoverned. If a cab were engaged, the Camorra expected its share; if the fare were disputed, a hang-dog-looking individual would say how much the Signor ought to pay, and the coachman knew that the Camorra had intervened, and would in due time render its account. Differences between men and masters were referred to the Camorristi—or taken to another tribunal at the risk of the recalcitrants regretting their rashness. The Camorristi extracted their per-cent-age of whatever money passed from hand to hand in buying property or in

making any open or even private purchase, for the Camorra was everywhere, and showed itself in the most unlikely quarters. Rents, wages, the prizes in lotteries, the winnings of gamblers—



PEASANT WOMAN OF BIASSA, NEAR SPEZIA.

everything which could be taxed had, *bon gré, mal gré*, to contribute to the Camorrist treasury. There was nothing which the Society could not accomplish, from the ruin of a Minister to the dismissal of a labourer. For a consideration they undertook to convey smuggled goods to their destination, and if a *bravo* were required, the Camorra—for a consideration—would

provide the stiletto. Violence, robbery, and murder were their weapons. Terrorism kept the members together, and so dreaded was their vengeance, that when thrown into gaol they would often succeed in exacting money from their fellow-prisoners, and even from the turnkeys, who dreaded the company committed to their charge.

Such an organisation could, perhaps, have originated in no other country except the Italy of the Bourbons, and would never for a moment have been tolerated under a less oppressive system of government. But in those days the Neapolitans, who are still poor enough, were in a condition of poverty so abject, that when a society was established simply for the purpose of blackmailing and rattening, the sympathetic Contadini, or country folk, shrugged their shoulders and brought themselves to believe that it was only a compensatory tax levied by those who had no other way of getting at their own. It was irregular, perhaps—the Neapolitans allowed—but in the Two Sicilies there was nothing very regular except the regularity with which the inhabitants were plundered for the enrichment of the officials. Hence, like the Brigands, into which many of them developed, and the “Poor Lads” of Hungary (p. 60), the Camorristi were regarded as victims of a bad fiscal policy, or as political theorists a little ahead, or possibly a trifle behind, the times. The shopkeepers, indeed, held a less charitable opinion. But, being prudent men, they reserved this verdict for their inner circle. Like Nihilists in Russia, or Police Spies in Papal Rome, or denouncers during the French Reign of Terror, the Camorra was ubiquitous. The name of this singular confederation carried terror into the ranks of the middle and lower classes, whom they robbed, and forced to buy or sell on the terms which the Camorristi might determine. They had a rendezvous in every provincial city, and twelve central meeting-places in Naples alone. There were three grades in the Society, each grade governed by an absolute chief, elected by its members, and associated with a treasurer, who was a very important personage in such an organisation. Into his hands were paid the entire gains of the section, and through him these funds were in turn distributed equally among the *sociétaires*, after deducting certain specified charges to meet current expenses. There was a good deal of honour among these thieves, and, considering the trade they followed, a punctiliousness regarding the personal and family antecedents of the candidates for admission which, to any one acquainted with the Italian character, seems absolutely ludicrous. Applicants for membership must not have been guilty of espionage or of theft prior to their candidature. Their wives and sisters were required to be of reputable life, and the novice had to swear on an iron crucifix a fearful oath of fidelity and secrecy. At first he was a probationer under an old Camorrista, and was known as “Picciotto d'onore:” “after having given proofs of courage and obedience he was advanced to the rank of “Picciotto di sgarro.” Many of the brotherhood got no further than this stage, for before the full status of “Camorrista” could be attained, very special fitness for desperate deeds had to be evinced. Discipline was in every instance strictly enforced. The members knew each other by two knives of peculiar form which they carried, and on the faintest suspicion of treachery or disobedience, flogging, suspension, expulsion, or death was the inevitable fate of the recreant. Even after the Camorrista had been driven forth from the Society, he was not free from the obligation of his oath, and more than one who had incurred the ban of the fraternity, by being seen under circumstances which implied familiarity with the police, discovered, when too late, that the Camorristi were more certain in their vengeance.

than the law. When they had differences among themselves the Chief of the Section settled the dispute, though in difficult cases the disputants are said by Signor Monnier,* who made the investigation of this extraordinary college of miscreants the labour of many years, to have left the matter to the arbitration of a duel with daggers.

The Camorra was thus, like the Vehmgerichte of Westphalia, essentially a Secret Society ; but, unlike that famous tribunal, it made no pretence to do for justice what the anarchy of the State was unable to accomplish. The American Western Vigilance Committees were more of the nature of the Vehmgerichte, for while affecting to punish by a roughly just "lynch law" evil-doers whom the ordinary tribunal could not or did not reach, the Vigilantes were, like the "Wissende," often rascals themselves, who found shelter in the ranks which ought to have excluded them. Nor is it correct to compare the Camorristi with the Carbonari. The latter were essentially political revolutionists. The Camorristi only turned to politics when the Bourbons incurred their hate by refusing to them the tolerance accorded by Ferdinand II. After the success of Garibaldi an attempt was made to employ the members in the secret police. But, as might have been expected, the scheme proved a costly failure. The wolves devoured the sheep. In other words, the Camorristi fattened on the hush-money of the rogues. The Government of Victor Emmanuel now waged war against its old allies. Scores took to brigandage, while numbers who remained were seized and transported in "*domicilio coatto*" to Ischia. Here they were allowed half a franc a day as subsistence money ; but many of the men seemed to live luxuriously on this pension, a circumstance which puzzled the police until the truth came out. Instead of the Society being broken up, the banished Camorristi had founded a fresh branch in Ischia, and, though under strict surveillance, carried on an extensive correspondence with Naples, Ponza, and Ventotene. No one was allowed to prepare a dinner for those who could afford to pay for it without disbursing ten sous to the Secret Society. All stolen articles were given up to the President, who assigned a certain portion to the thief. Games of chance were permitted only on condition that a percentage of the profits was to be the share of the Camorra, while every member was compelled to surrender a part of his half lira allowance to the Association. This system of terrorism was so unbearable, that the victims were at last forced to appeal to the police, and many of its members were taken into custody. Notwithstanding this, however, it is doubtful whether the Camorra will be crushed. Not so very long ago it was confidently pronounced to be quite dead. Yet so ample were the funds at its disposal, and so numerous its friends, that a perfect army of advocates were retained for the defence of the Ischian Camorristi.

The "Camorra" was, in reality, not confined to Naples, for in Sicily it flourished, and most likely still exists in a more subdued form as the "Mafia." In Ravenna and Bologna it was the "Squadracchia," and in Turin the "Cocca." It is even affirmed, by those who have made a study of this strange cancer in the social life of Italy, that the Roman "Sicorii," the "Accoltellatori" of the Romagna district, and the Parmesan "Pugnalatori," were only the Neapolitan Camorristi under other names. It was a State within a State, and at the time when the Government flattered itself that the organisation was actually exterminated, there were upwards of 200,000 persons belonging to it, and addressing each other in a language unintelligible

* "La Camorra, Notizie Storiche" (1863).

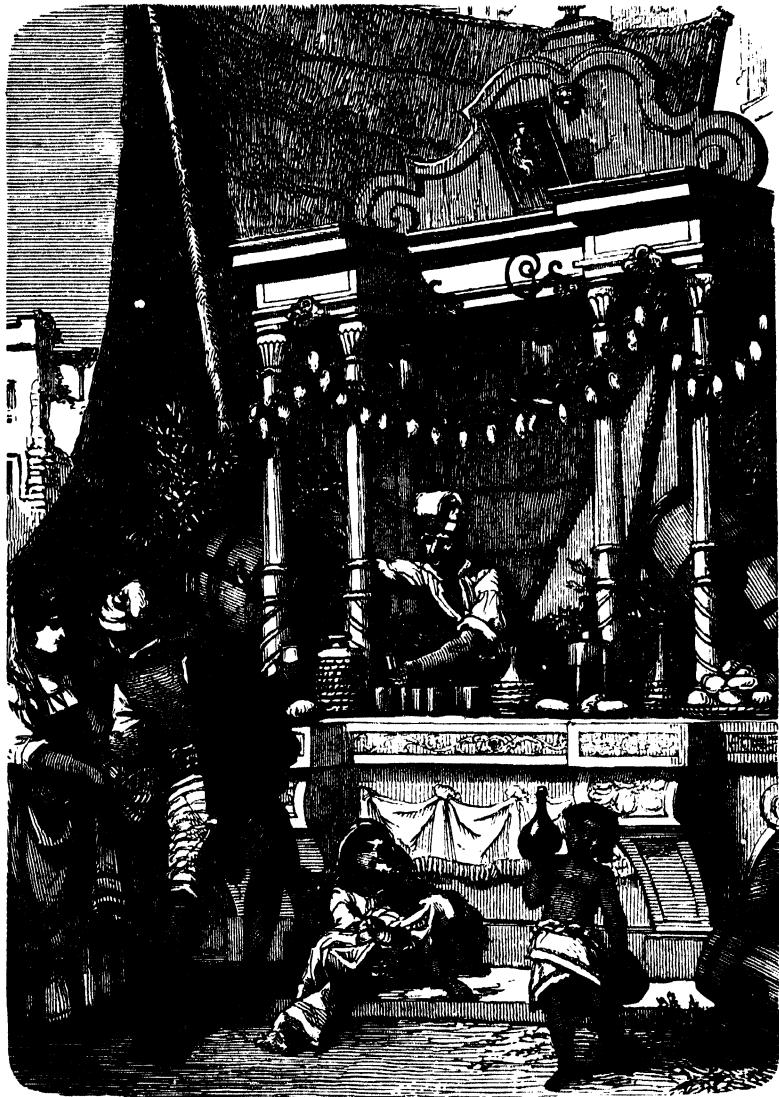
to more honest, or at least to less lawless, people. The recent revelations prove that if they are no longer able to weaken the power of the authorities, and to modify the operations of economic laws by exacting that share of the national wealth of which they were deprived either by idleness or the badness of their rulers, they are not less a terror in certain strata of society, and a means of paralyzing confidence in the capability of the law to protect all classes alike.

It was, however, not only into the Camorra that the principle of a Secret Society penetrated. The Lazzaroni (p. 251), by which name were designated a particular class of



VIEW IN RAVENNA.

the poorest Neapolitans, were essentially organised on this plan. Now a days, the term is applied to the boatmen, fishermen, and labourers generally of the city. But in the times when the Lazzaroni played so prominent a part in the experiences of travellers, they were an order of people without any fixed habitation, regular occupation, or means of subsistence, but living as they could—now as messengers, now as peddlers (p. 241), now as porters, and so abjectly ignorant that they could hardly be described as civilised. Yet they were sharp enough, and rendered the most unquestioning obedience to their elected chief, who as the “Capo Lazzaro” was formally recognised by the Neapolitan Government, and utilised by them as their tool. At one time, the Lazzaroni were active participants in all the revolutions and disorderly movements of Naples. Latterly, they allied themselves with the despots, though, when Garibaldi entered the city, they, like their friends of the Camorra—to which, indeed, many of them belonged—again took the side of freedom.



ACQUAJOLO (ICED-WATER AND ORANGE SHOP), NAPLES.

CHAPTER X.

THE ITALIANS; THE NEAPOLITANS; SIGN-LANGUAGE; NOBLES, ETC.

IT is also curious, speaking of the Neapolitans, who for our purpose may be regarded as the typical Italian, that though these Southern people are the noisiest on the face of the earth, their eagerness to have something hidden from the rest of the world is evinced in the fact that they possess not only a secret language—which is confined to the members of this terrible Society of the Camorra—but a sign-language quite as expressive as that in use among the American Indians (Vol. I., pp. 158, 159), and as readily understood by

the initiated. Naples is in some respects the home of noise, every human being seeming to exert himself or herself to utter the most discordant cries, and to shriek, whether he has vegetables, oranges, boiled shell-fish, or roasted chestnuts for sale. Whips crack, donkeys bray, wheels clatter, beggars whine, drivers, guides, beggars—anybody—shout, and yell, and shriek until Naples seems to the fresh Arrival Pandemonium let loose. From five in the morning till noon the church bells are beaten, not rung, and the very peasant who brings his wares to market soothes his solitude by droning a monotonous tune as he passes down the country lanes, and shouting it as soon as he enters the grotta. In shop or in market-place the least taciturn of the Italians talk incessantly, and are ever ready to chat, be the place villa, coffee-room, omnibus, or railway carriage. And if they can not find any one else ready to chatter, they will not hesitate, so it is said, to hold a conversation with themselves, which singing in places where no one can hear the words, essentially is. Every hour is lost in which their tongues are not wagging. Yet, as a graphic writer remarks, this eternally-talking town, of all others, has thought proper to invent and use a real language of signs, in which you can buy and sell, impart and receive, useful information of various kinds, make love, and challenge your enemy to the death without opening your lips (pp. 240, 241, 249, 252, 253).

"Why this is so is a difficult question. Some have supposed that these gestures were once a secret speech, which the lazzaroni used in order to shield themselves from the oppression of their social superiors, and which they still employ to inform each other of the weaknesses of their foreign patrons. This theory may be correct, but sometimes one is inclined to think that the motive that prompted the invention and gave it currency was less heroic and more practical. May not the Neapolitans have adopted it because it enabled them to hold two conversations at the same time, and thus to indulge in a double loquacity? No inhabitant of the town ever thinks of paying a cabman his legal fare. Every one feels it would be unjust to compel him to drive from one end of the city to the other for the eightpence he has a right to claim, and on such occasions every one gives him something extra. But for short drives the eightpence is too much. On summer afternoons a walk through the streets is almost intolerable. You have been to see the Museum or Aquarium, let us say; the walk from either to the neighbourhood of San Carlo, where the great coffee-houses are, is short; but, if you go on foot, you know you will be exhausted before you reach your destination. As soon as you appear on the public way, half a dozen cabmen offer their services. You choose the cab you like, say 'San Carlo,' place the first finger of your left hand across the second joint of the first finger of your right, and walk on. You have offered the driver half a lire. He shrugs his shoulders, and sits firmly on his box. Do not turn your head; in half a minute he will be rattling along the road beside you. 'But also a gratuity for me, sir.' The only notice you take is slightly to elevate your chin, without honouring him even with a side glance. Seeing you are an adept, he cries at once, 'Come in, sir, come in.' If you do so, you will have no quarrel with him at parting. All but the very worst Neapolitans will adhere to the agreement they have once made, but your cabman will think none the worse of you if you give him two soldi—one penny—at parting. This gratuity is not unusual, and does not, if a bargain has been made, denote extravagance. In dealing with the lazzaroni, even if the

tongue is employed, it is wise to use the fingers as well. Every finger denotes a lire; the first joint of the fore-finger when crossed represents the quarter, the second the half of that coin; the whole of the right hand extended means five, both hands ten; but it is best for the foreigner to use only one hand at such times, and keep the other firmly clasped, if possible, in some pocket, or mistakes may arise. To fold your hands means to repeat the sum. Thus, if you wish to offer a boatman twelve lire for an excursion, you extend your whole hand with the palm towards him, then close it, then open it again, and finally keep it clasped with only two fingers extended.

"These are simple and obvious devices, but there are others that are at least as useful and less easily explicable. Thus, when a foreigner is intent on purchasing corals, pearls, photographs, or walking-sticks, and thinks he is being overreached, he can hardly do better than gaze at the dealer with the most placid of smiles, insert the two first fingers of his right hand between his neck and the shirt collar, and then ask with an easy laugh what the prices really are. The more respectable the seller is the more pronounced the gesture must be. This sign signifies almost everything, from 'Do you take me to be a fool?' or 'I don't quite believe that story.' When skilfully used, it often leads to a great reduction of prices."*

The idle "Lazzaroni" were and are—despite all the ordinances of the State anent mendicancy—one of the institutions of Naples and other Italian towns.† Naples is still emphatically the place "where no man works, where the suffering of the poor inspires no sympathy, and the pleasures of the rich deserve no respect." The Lazzaroni are not necessarily beggars. They are simply the mob, and may be fishermen, porters, messengers, and mendicants. Physically they are a fine race, and, as Mr. Whiteside remarks, seem always as if preparing to go to bed while pursuing their occupations in linen drawers and a night-cap, "for they disdain shoes or stockings. Their gait is an amble, between a walk and a run, and they are equally ready for playing or for fighting. I believe their felicity to be complete with macaroni and pulcinella. Punch is a very important personage in Naples; he dresses up and retails the drolleries of the day; he is the channel of the passing opinions, and could gain a mob or keep the whole kingdom in good humour. The fishermen who drag their nets at the end of the Villa Nazionale will suddenly drop their rather profitless business (the fishes are small and scanty), seat themselves on the beach and play with dirty cards, their gravity during the sport being more ludicrous than their merriment." Then a puppet-player comes with his pulcinella, and every one deserts the cards for the show, and suddenly—it used at all events to be the case when Naples was under the priests and the Bourbons—there will appear a monk with his crucifix and his "Kyrie Eleison," and, as Andersen so picturesquely describes the scene in his "Improvisatore," all the crowd will drop on their knees, and even the puppet-player will cease his pantomime as the sacred sounds fall upon his ear.

I have spoken of the Neapolitan fishermen. Those picturesque people who have been painted so many thousand times by the artists of every nation are especially lazzaroni. Thus, they are poor people, for though the occupation is far from profitable, the majority

* *Saturday Review* (London), April 25, 1885.

† A Lazzarone—a type of Lazarus—is, we have seen, simply one of "the masses," poor, and generally idle by choice or by force of circumstances. He is now scarcely one of a class by themselves (p. 248).

of the humble orders of Naples prefer it to any other. The work is easy when it is divided among a greater number of people. That is something. Then there is an irregularity in the toil, which, to the shiftless Neapolitan, is an irresistible attraction, for all continuous labour is, to the Southerner, irksome beyond measure, and if the gains be small, little suffices for the wants of existence in a climate where the mere feeling of life is enjoyment. At best the fisherman can earn only a few pence a day, and as he is paid, not according to the length of his toil, but by the amount of profit he derives



ICED WATER SELLER, NAPLES.



PEASANT WOMAN, NAPLES.

from his catch, the chances are that some days he earns nothing, and expects nothing from his employer. The fisherman is a rogue—he never denies it, and in the loose code of Neapolitan morals, the term is not offensive; but he is amiable, and, in his way, charitable. It is nothing uncommon to see him and fifteen more drying a net when half of the number would have amply sufficed. However, the others would have been in that case unemployed, and so their comrades cheerfully share with them the scanty gains of their united labour. In common with the humbler classes of Italians the fishermen are generally, unambitious, dirty, and dishonest, for all of which faults the ready excuse is the wretched pittance which they earn by their precarious calling. Happily, however, they are not fastidious regarding their food; they eat the fishes they are unable to sell, and some of the smaller species, and particularly a kind of transparent crab, they devour alive with the utmost nonchalance. King Ferdinand IV., of Naples, was fond not only of fishing, but of



STREET IN NAPLES.

disposing of the catch in his proper person. His Majesty frequently spread his nets in that part of the bay near Posilippo, and always demanded exorbitant prices for his merchandise, that he might be entertained by the abuse which was dealt with equal liberality to him and to his less exalted associates.*

A people so wretchedly paid can hardly be expected to live in houses possessing many comforts. But it is scarcely conceivable to picture abodes more squalid than the dens in which the poor classes of Naples huddle, though the fearful epidemic of cholera in the autumn of 1884 has done something to rouse the authorities to the pestilential character of their externally beautiful city, which from a sanitary point of view is little better than a whitened sepulchre. The touchy vanity of the Italians could never tolerate anything being said against the character of "bella Napoli." When Mr. Gladstone described the Neapolitan prisons as "the negation of God," the people were pleased, for not only was this scathing characterisation true, but—what was of more moment—it was a blow to the government of the Bourbons, and, therefore, naturally agreeable to a people who were never greatly enamoured of any form of rule, and less so of that of the Neapolitan sovereigns than of most others, the Austrians and their nominees excepted. Nevertheless, they were fond of emptying the vials of their wrath on any hapless foreigner who ventured to write of any less agreeable topics than the merry songs, the festive customs, the tarentella, their pointless jokes, the evenings at Santa Lucia, the promenade in the Villa Nazionale, or the festival of Piedigrotta. If the Neapolitan is not to stamp the tourist as the father of lies, or at best a dull dog who had done his best to libel fair Italy and betray the hospitality he enjoyed, he is expected to lay on the colours freely, and though the tints may be a trifle garish, the rainbow colouring is so agreeable that the daub is immediately hailed as the most vivid of pictures. Since the dismal autumn of 1884 the Neapolitan journalists have awakened to the fact that their best friends were not the superficial travellers who flattered them and attracted visitors to their city. "We look," writes one of the most thoughtful of Neapolitan editors, "upon Naples as an enchanting siren without thinking that she ends in a fishy tail, that here we have a great hotbed of infection, which every year generates typhus and epidemic fevers."†

Visitors to Naples who see the notable improvements made in the higher quarters and at the "Marina" (*i.e.*, along the Chiaja) conclude, after having taken a promenade down the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and lingered in the Villa Nazionale, that great changes have been made in Naples as in other Italian cities. They are mistaken. Alongside new Naples there still continues to exist old Naples—dirty, without light, without air—wherein 300,000 human beings live in habitations that resemble caverns. There cholera has established its headquarters, and from thence it is diffused. It is no exaggeration to say that that part of Naples is a perennial outrage to civilisation. So long as those dens remain, schools are unavailing and religion also, for it degenerates into superstitious fanaticism. In the very middle of Naples there

* Reeve, in Allom's "Character and Costume in Turkey and Italy," p. 14.

† The descriptions which follow are condensed from the *Stampa*, *Fanfulla*, and *Opinione* of September, 1884, and may therefore be accepted as the unvarnished description of the life of the Neapolitan *lazzaroni*, so horrible that if they had been penned by a foreigner he might not unfairly have laid himself open to the charge of exaggeration and prejudice.

are dens and cavernous habitations—known as *Fondachi* and *Bassi*—which are a disgrace to civilisation. Imagine the doorway of a cave where on entering you must descend. Not a ray of light reaches it except by the one aperture you have passed through; and there, between four black, battered walls, and upon a layer of filth mixed with putrid straw, two, three, and four families vegetate together. The best side of the cave, namely, that through which humidity filtrates the least, is occupied by a rack and manger to which animals of various kinds are tied: a horse it may be, or an ass, a calf, or a pig. On the opposite, a heap of boards and rags represents the beds. In one corner is the fireplace, and the household utensils lie about the floor. This atrocious scene is animated by a swarm of half-naked, dishevelled women, of children entirely naked rolling about in the dirt, and of men stretched on the ground in the sleep of idiocy. Such is a Neapolitan *Fondacho*. Multiply it by thousands. Remember that a hundred thousand beings at least have no other shelter; that they live only on fruit and vegetables, on snails and onions; without changing their rags even once in a year; without water, except such as flows in a dense impure rivulet winding through those lanes. Remember that over those *Fondachi* rise houses of four and five floors, where another population, scarcely less poor, less dirty, or less crowded and ill-fed, lies huddled together; houses where the sun's rays never penetrate, where the sea-breezes never reach, where all instinct of modesty is dead, and animal humanity alone dominates. This gangrene the Government seems determined to burn out; though it is questionable whether the enthusiasm for hygiene which terror has stimulated will last very long.

The Deputy Billia, in an official report laid before the Italian Parliament in 1881 on the measures for improving Naples, writing of these *Fondachi*, says:—"To reach the upper floors, you enter a kind of yard, in the middle of which is the dung-hill, common to all the inhabitants, and such edifices, as if in irony, are in Naples called 'palazzi.'" This report states that, "according to the census of 1872, the population of Naples was divided into 93,406 families, and these families live in 12,850 houses. Each family is composed of an average of five members, and each house holds an average of seven families, or thirty-five persons. But as the well-to-do like spacious accommodation, a corresponding increase of pressure and density follows in the dwellings of the poor. Great cities have their great miseries; but Naples perhaps exceeds them all, for the element of misery is represented in Naples by two-thirds of the total population, which in 1866 numbered 461,571 (493,115 in 1881) persons. The mortality among children under six years old numbers 40 per cent. of the total number of deaths." "It is easy to be understood," adds Signor Billia, "that in such circumstances, and notwithstanding the salubrity of the city's situation, epidemics commit great ravages, and that all comparisons drawn between Naples and other cities must be fallacious."

In Naples there are splendid quarters rivalling those of Paris, but in normal times the *febbrecola*, the Neapolitan fever, and typhus prevail; and in times scarcely less than normal there are 900 cases of cholera a day. But the cholera is not in Naples; it is in some sections of the city, and there it maintains its ground against all remedies, and against all the miracles of energy, activity, and goodwill. In those sections—namely, the Mercato, Pendino, Porto, and Vicaria—the persons attacked have numbered several hundreds daily, while in the others the numbers have been only seven or eight. All the phenic acid, all the chloride of lime, all the chloride of aluminium in the world, will be insufficient to free

those quarters from an evil which is in the houses, in the habits of the people, and in the surroundings, rotten, unhealthy, and stinking. Professor Marino Turchi* states that in the sections of the Porto there were, in 1866—and Naples there, it is added, is the same to-day as it was then—105 habitations divided into 488 rooms, in which there were 2,793 beds, or six beds for each room. In one of these habitations alone there were ninety-three beds placed one next the other, with one closet only—a hole in the middle of the kitchen.

Changes are daily in progress, and in 1885 an abundant water supply was introduced.



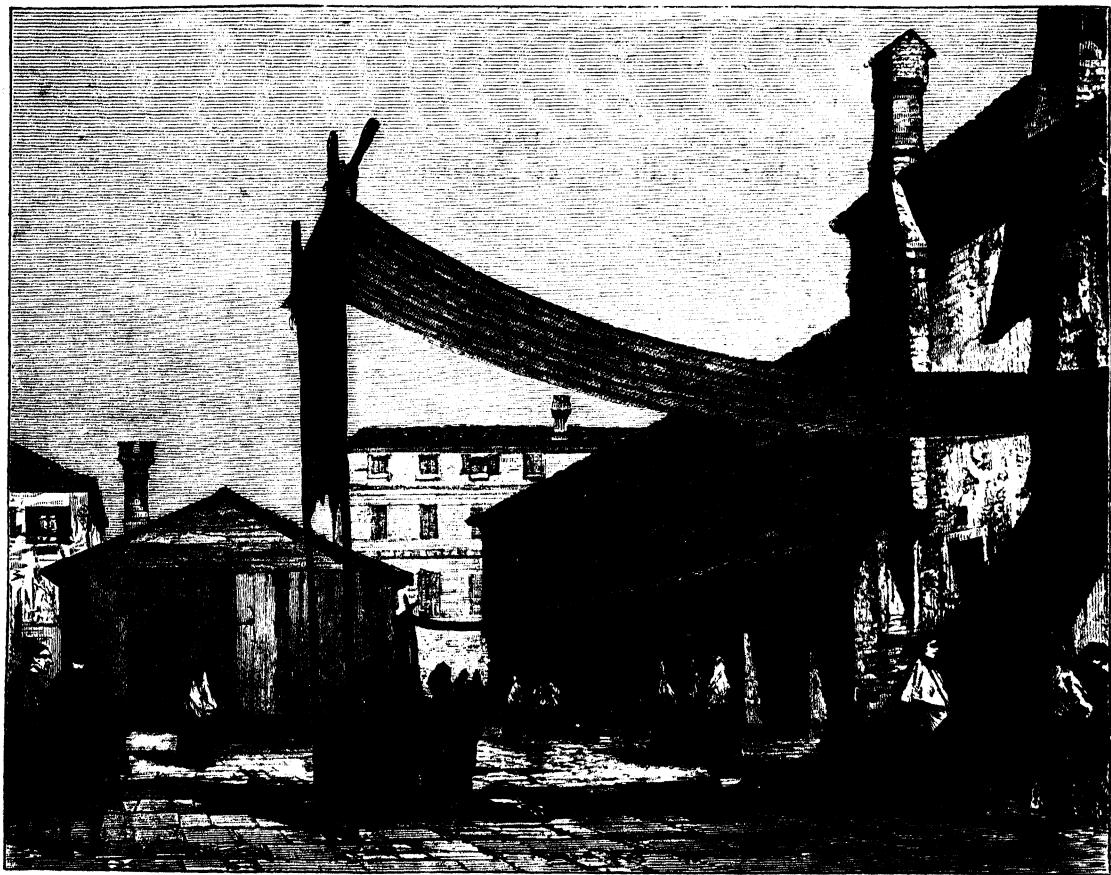
THE BAY OF NAPLES.

But it still is no exaggeration to describe Naples as the “Cloaca city where death triumphs.”† “Vedi Napoli e poi mori” was the boast of her citizens, unconscious that the request was capable of a less flattering interpretation, for “to die” was too often the sequel to “seeing Naples.” Misery, filth, and starvation are cheek by jowl with luxury, and what at all events looks on the outside like all-abounding wealth. Naked boys may be seen raking over rubbish-heaps in search of a decaying cabbage-stalk, which they eagerly devour. Young women, fair and lissom, as is the rule of their graceful race, may be seen shivering under the keen winds which, even in Naples sometimes, sweep along the streets, with limbs scarcely covered by a single tattered garment; while rows of half-famished, often crippled, men and children hang about every hack carriage in the Toledo, hoping that some one getting into

* “Notizie e documenti reguardante le condizioni igieniche della citta di Napoli” (1866).

† Hare: “Cities of Southern Italy” (1883); Villari: “Lettere meridionale” (1867); Mario: “Miseria a Napoli” (1870); Tucino: “Napoli ad occhio nudo” (1882); and the *Times*, Sept. 25th, 1884.

one of these vehicles may throw a sou among them ; or, " better still "—I am quoting the words of a Roman—" that some shawl, or rug, or umbrella might, by a flying leap, be reached and stolen from the back of the carriage ! The sun shone, and the grand carriages drove with their freight of lovely women and children, clad in silks and velvets ; and the half-naked mob stretched their limbs and lolled about the pavement in every sunny, well-



FISH-MARKET, CHIOGGIA (VENICE).

sheltered nook, and sang and jested, and used such foul language in their horrid play, that I shrank from their vicinity. And then the scene changed, and the rain and snow fell, and the gay carriages disappeared, and the 'civili' went to their more or less luxurious or comfortable homes, and left the streets to foreigners and to beggars. And of these last, many heaped themselves in doorways, on one another, to maintain such latent heat as they might ; and the foul slush, black with human slime, ran slowly down from the steep alleys into which the miserable crew, who had any lairs or shelters there, hurried and disappeared before the storm." This is a winter picture. Naples is, however, generally in summer dress ; and happily for the people that it is so, since their miserable dens can have little joy for the inmates. The street and the noonday are what they therefore rejoice in, and hence, as we have seen.

the moment the brilliant sunshine lights up the dark lanes in which they have sweltered through a feverish night, they pour down into the broad Piazza, or find air enough to fill their half asphyxiated lungs in the Chiaja or the Mole. The men do a little work, in a languid sort of way; or, when toil is not to their mind, or scanty, they play cards, which to the Neapolitan are what "mora" is to the Romans. The women meantime bring their chairs, and knit, or sew, or wash, or—the exigencies of truth demand the unpleasing statement—cleanse their hair. Sunday is the favourite morning for this interesting operation, and it is not uncommon to see young women, three or four deep, one seated behind the other, engaged in the exciting chase. Meantime the juvenile lazzaroni tumble in the dust and mire, or roll an orange from one sewer to another—or, if on the shore, will dive for a farthing; and thus the unintellectual day passes, not omitting their enjoyment of the exhibition of Pulcinella, a spectacle to be seen in all parts of Naples, and announced by a "national air" highly musical* (p. 253).

MENDICANCY AND BRIGANDAGE.

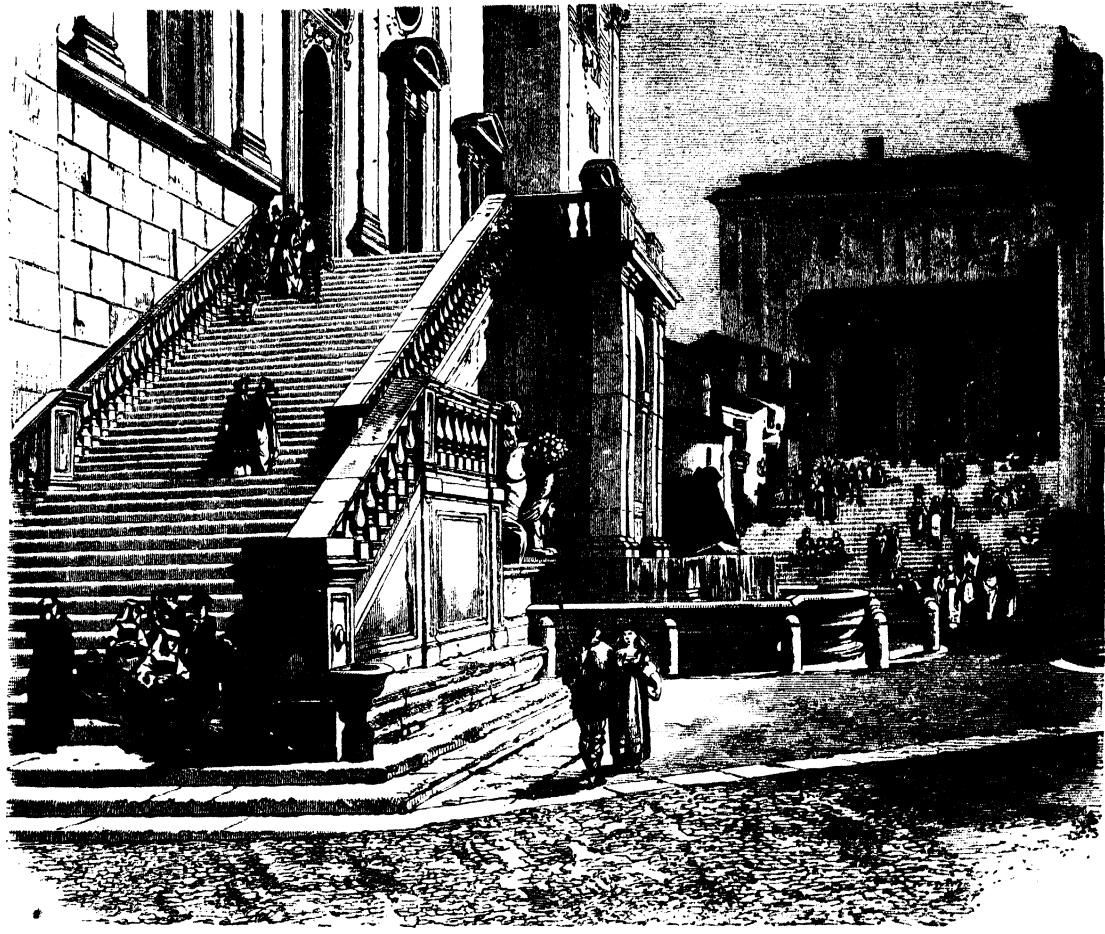
Somehow or other, after hearing and seeing and reading about the race of the New Italy, rising over the dust-begrimed ruins of an older one, and the prosperity which is dawning on a land which for ages has been little more than the show-place of Christendom, one cannot help recurring to the fact that mendicancy is the feature most likely to strike the traveller. Beggars abound elsewhere—they are more than numerous here. Rags and misery and loathsome dens are too frequent in London and other large cities. But they do not so markedly strike the eye, for the leaden sky and dull streets seem less fitted for joyousness than the bright air and cheerful ways of Italy; and, moreover, we keep our lazzaroni out of sight. The Government has no doubt prohibited mendicancy. But it still flourishes under the guise of street hawking, or street playing, or plying the art of the *improvisatore*, who pretends to extemporise a few lines. But it is all a sham, in Milan and Naples, and even in Rome, while in Old World places like Verona, which have not taken over kindly to the new-fangled rule of the Sardinian sovereigns, there is hardly a pretence of frowning on the filthy herd who alternately bless and curse the passer-by—in strict accord with his generosity or his deafness to their professional whine. The truth is, that mendicancy flourished on the Italian soil because there was everything to make it take root, increase, and become a nuisance. The people were poor, the natives easy, and the visitors rich. It was, moreover, surrounded by an odour of respectability—not that the beggar cared much for that—for entire orders of churchmen were bound by their monastic vows to subsist by the alms of the charitable, or of people wearied by their importunity. And to this day, despite the suppression of these ecclesiastical orders, and the decrees against mendicancy, both manage to find their profit in the sympathy which the municipal guards and the people at large have for them. The same half-disguised tolerance for brigandage existed in many parts of Italy, and though the crime of seizing wealthy persons and holding them to ransom is disappearing under the vigorous measures taken to suppress it, still we hear now and then of cases which show that, without the acquiescence of the peasantry, such crimes

* Whiteside: "Italy in the Nineteenth Century," p. 358.

would be impossible. Sicily—and especially the vicinity of Palermo—is the region where, until recently, the brigand was found in greatest abundance. This country is thinly settled, the roads are bad, and the people extremely poor. Malefactors hide in the many brimstone quarries scattered over the island, and the demoralisation of the peasantry is so inconceivable, that, apart from the terror inspired by the vengeance of the brigands, they have scarcely any other idea of the crime except that it is a rude mode adopted by the poor man for redressing the wrongs he has suffered at the hands of the rich. “The peasantry,” we are told by a traveller well acquainted with them, “huddle together with their landlords in the wretched towns, and if they have occasion to visit their farms, far away from their homes, they must compound with the robber either by paying blackmail, or by aiding and abetting him, supplying him with food and shelter, with arms and ammunition, and above all things with useful and timely information. The idea that the best security lies in bribing the bigger robber, for protection against the minor thief, is deeply rooted in the people’s mind; and we hear of one Valvo, a famous brigand chief of Monte Mazziore, lately killed, whose safeguard was held of higher value than the escort of a regiment, and whose good-will was therefore solicited and paid for at any price by the wealthiest proprietor.” It was this feeling, and this practice, which nurtured “brigantaggio.” The people could not—or fancied that they could not—protect themselves, and the Government made little effort to do so. Accordingly, they made the best terms they could with the robbers. Occasionally, but much more rarely than formerly, we hear of individuals being seized even in the vicinity of towns and held to ransom, but the cases in which the brigands murder their victims, when the Carabineers are pressing them hard, are now extremely rare, while it was only the most ferocious of the gangs, those of Manzi, Crocco, Donato, Cipriano la Gala, and the rest, who ventured to send to the agonised relatives, with each more and more peremptory demand for money, fragments of the ears and the fingers of the captive, with intimation that if the ransom asked was not forthcoming, the unfortunate hostage would be delivered to his family in this piece-meal fashion. In reality, however, the captives were seldom treated badly, except when the close pursuit of the soldiers compelled the robbers to move about rapidly from place to place. Money was what they wanted, and it was therefore no interest of theirs to superadd to avarice a needless amount of cruelty, which might incur the vengeance of the victim, and in an evil hour render the fate of the brigand worse than it would otherwise have been. Count Claudio Faina, for example, was found dead in a corn-field near Orvieto, having been killed by his captors, on account of the hostage being a hindrance in their flight from the forces; and Baron Sgadari, when seized near Palermo, saved his life only by the prompt payment of 63,000 francs. In the country near Rome, where it was at one time very common, the crime is almost extinct, and in Lombardy and Piedmont it is scarcely ever heard of, the only cases of much consequence occurring in Sicily, which has always been the favourite haunt of robber gangs—thieves by day and brigands by night, peasants in the eyes of the tax-gatherer, and followers of a business a great deal more lucrative, to the knowledge of their neighbours, associates, and indirect coadjutors. The country in the vicinity of Palermo is—or was, until very recently—hazardous for travellers worth robbing, though Catania and Messina, which in former days bore an evil reputation, are now, thanks to the active measures taken by the Government, no longer dangerous.

OLD AND NEW ITALY.

All this, however, belongs to old Italy—the Italy which is passing away, in the presence of the regenerated and far better Italy of the days which followed the entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome, which secured the constitution of the new Kingdom. The throne of “Il Re galantuomo” was built on the ruins of five or six royal, ducal, grand-ducal, and vice-



STAIRS OF THE SENATORIAL PALACE, ROME.

regal seats, and the rise of Rome as the metropolis of the new monarchy determined the slow or rapid fall of as many petty capitals. Siena, Pisa, Lucca, and Parma were at one time the head of sovereign states, small republics, duchies, or grand duchies, and some of the now decaying Italian towns, like Ravenna and Pavia, were royal or even imperial seats. “They were,” to use the words of Mr. Gallenga, from whose volumes much of what follows has been gleaned, “the remnants of the old Roman world broken to atoms; they are now being again cast together into a new political and social unit.” The old Italian cities were each circumscribed by the extent of its rural territory. The country at large was agricultural. There were only a few seaports, like Venice, Genoa, Leghorn, and Pisa, which aspired to commercial greatness.

Many of the inland towns, like Florence, Chieri, and Asti, were banking centres ; while others, like Milan, took to manufacturing. But all of them owed their main lustre to the fact that they were the seats of the nobility and gentry of their respective districts. In those days it was as if all the "county families" of Yorkshire, or of Kent, had built themselves lordly



ITALIAN TYPES.

mansions in York or Maidstone, and had lived there and spent their wealth there ever since England had anything in the shape of an aristocracy. The limits of many of these Italian cities were coincident with the limits of the diocese, the bishop being the successor of the feudal jurisdiction as wielded by the vanished dukes and counts. At first each city had its own autonomy, and worked out its own development without regard to the existence of its neighbours. In time, however, jealousies, and the wars which sprang out of jealousy, arose, and, as a consequence, the most powerful subdued the less resistful. In this way

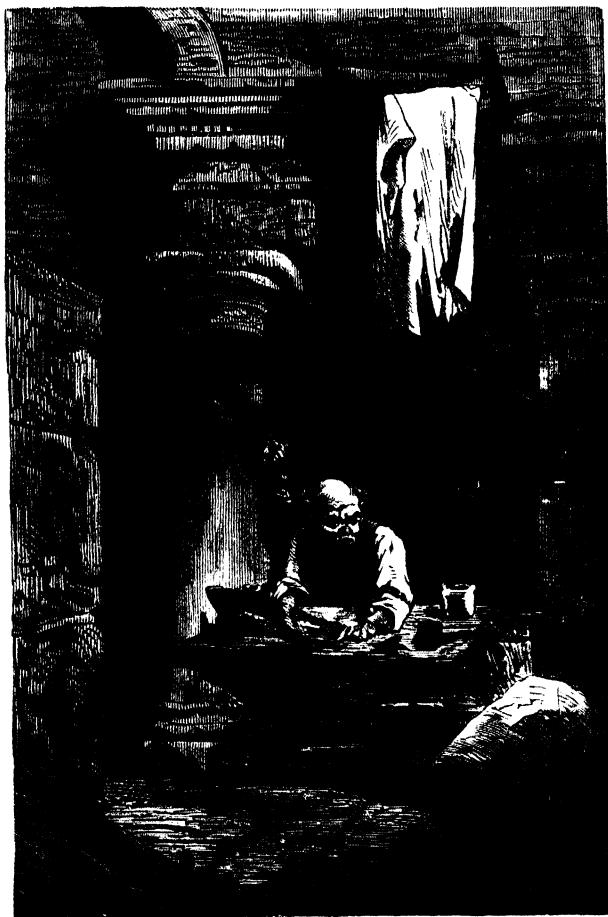
Theresa. The state of things previously existing was felt by the old aristocracy of Austria as a public scandal. Every year dozens of Barons and hundreds of hereditary Knights used to be created by the too indiscriminate bestowal of the Orders above mentioned ; and hence it is that most of the financiers of the Continent and many other foreigners have contrived to get themselves created Austrian Barons. The lavish and inconsiderate way in which such honours



MARKET IN ROME.

were formerly showered upon applicants contributed greatly to lower the value and dignity of Austrian titles, but of late years, much to the joy of the higher nobility, these distinctions have been distributed with a more sparing hand. The complete stoppage which the Imperial Decree put to the old system was hailed with delight by all those already enjoying the privileges of nobility, while amongst those who had not yet succeeded in obtaining the long-coveted distinction the disappointment and chagrin were correspondingly keen. This, a "Fedeschi" weakness implanted in the Italians, has, however, been hard to eradicate—it was so delightful a sin that the quarter from which it emanated was forgotten. But though the multiplication of Counts and Barons will in future experience some check, the manufacture of Knights goes on apace. In all the public offices the heads of departments are Commendatori

or Knights Grand Cross of some Order, and it is a rarity to find the subordinate clerks not Cavaliers or Knights. Every week the official gazette contains a list of new Cavalieri or Commendatori appointed by the King on the recommendation of his ministers. Many of these Knights and Knights Commanders are sculptors, painters, and architects, and a multitude are physicians, apothecaries, veterinary surgeons, and dentists. The "decorated" lawyers and



ROMAN COBBLER.

naval and military officers are legion, while bank clerks, accountants, money-changers, and retail dealers are among the equestrian order. Most of the deputies belong either to the Crown of Italy or to that of SS. Maurice and Lazare, which was bestowed so freely on all comers that Victor Emmanuel used to declare that a cigar and a cross of SS. Maurice and Lazare he refused to no one who asked for it. It is calculated that over 2,000 Knights and Knight Commanders are created yearly in Italy; and of course the value of this easily obtained distinction is falling so rapidly, that in some quarters it is almost equivalent to a personal affront to ask a man whether he has by this time obtained a cross. Anything—everything—nothing—is sufficient to obtain for the applicant this dubious honour. If a

tourist climbs up a mountain, he gets a cross in recognition of the stoutness of his legs; or if he falls down he can obtain one as a solace for his broken head. Somebody publishes some book of no value, but if a copy is sent to the King, the smallest his Majesty can do is to send the loyal author the most trifling gift he has to bestow. The voyager who has gone somewhere and done nothing in particular is just as likely to obtain the glory of Cavaliere as the traveller who has made great discoveries; while the man who is certain to have his breast covered with such gauds is the Court official, or the Government clerk who has served his country by drawing his salary punctually for a great number of years. It is, perhaps, needless to add that the chief butler and baker of the Court are Knights, and one of the results of the German Emperor's last visit to Italy was that the royal cook blossomed out as a Teutonic Ritter, in addition to the native honours of which this artist already boasted.

Yet there are still in Italy, and especially in Rome and some of the old-fashioned towns, numbers of nobles of a more sterling description than those which we have described. A few of these are wise enough to recognise the inevitable, and to make the best of the new order of things; others hang hopelessly by their old castles and palaces, sinking every year into deeper and deeper poverty; and the law of primogeniture being no longer in existence, some of the historic families are threatened with absolute extinction. At one time, even within the memory of men still living, the provincial nobleman was an awe-inspiring personage, be he never so poor. In provincial towns the *libro d'oro* was an institution, and the *Casino dei Nobili* a club regarded with awe or envy, as best suited the temperament of the vulgar mob outside its doors. At Parma and elsewhere there were colleges for the education of the nobility, apart from the pushing throng which was crowding the universities; and whatever might be the fate of the younger members of the family, the head of it was as particular about mating within the sacred ring to which he belonged as a German Freiherre of sixteen quarterings is not to wed with a lady whose quarterings are still to be discovered. All this lustre and exclusiveness are vanishing. In these towns the traders who have made money, or the stewards of shattered estates, are the great men; while the grand old palaces are devoted to baser uses than housing the descendants of those who built them.

In the richer agricultural districts of Lombardy this decay is more gradual, for the wealth of the soil serves to keep the proprietors in moderate comfort. Others are making prudent marriages, without much regard to the pedigree of the bride, or are keeping up appearances by that pinching niggardliness which it seems the peculiar talent of the Italian to practise when the only choice is between outside show and inside discomfort. Some, seeing that it is hopeless to maintain anything like state in the old style, are remaining bachelors; while others are doing their best to obtain posts which may enable them to live at the expense of the State, which, by helping itself, has done so much to lower them. In the more democratic communities—like Florence, where for centuries there have been merchant barons and banker princes—the descendants of the greatest historical personages are not above earning an honest franc by engaging in commerce. The result is that the Ricasoli, Peruzzi, Capponi, and so forth, still hold up their heads as nobles and tradesmen; and the Marquis Genori is a prosperous potter, as every amateur in china who has ever worshipped

the vases turned out by the Doccia manufactory must be well aware. Again, the coal beds of Capriglia, and the San Giovanni Iron Works are for the most part owned by the ancient nobles of Florence, who, owing to the democratic and mercantile traditions of the city, hold their own in every department of social activity. There is among these men quite enough of family pride. But the fact that from generation to generation they have been in the habit of increasing their wealth by trade has made it a second nature with them to regard the untitled mob with far more friendliness than their Roman or Neapolitan brethren. They are now energetic public personages, and freedom of speech being secured, find something better to talk about than "Malibran's voice, or Cerrito's toes."

These are, nevertheless, the exceptions. The rule is something very different. The bulk of the provincial nobility still live in the corners of their great palaces, long ago become too big for their shrunken dimensions. Their halls are silent and desolate, dusky, dingy, cold, and squalid. The hand of decay is everywhere apparent. "You call," writes Mr. Gallenga, "upon the *Marchese* or *Principe*; you step from a large to a larger hall, from a dark to a darker room, ushered in by a bewigged domestic in a threadbare livery. You find your magnate in a poky inner chamber, dimly lighted up by night by the old-fashioned three-beaked *lucerna*, with his slippers feet, if it is winter, on his four-knobbed brass *scaldino*; his stately lady, with her Bologna dog in her lap; his prim young *Marchesina*, fresh from the convent, at her embroidery frame; his chaplain, and perhaps his doctor, on lower stools, making up the party. The master of the house, a shrunken old man, but every inch a gentleman and a nobleman, greets you, as he half rises from his *fauteuil* with an easy grace and affability, showing that he knows how to honour a stranger without forgetting what is due to himself. Imperfectly educated, utterly untravelled, these meek-hearted scions of a broken-down provincial aristocracy are slowly falling to and below the people's level, without mixing with or merging into the people. They husband their paltry income by a strict grovelling economy; improve it by prudent intermarriages among their own set; by the cessation of all convivial festivity, and almost of social intercourse. At the café or casino the men meet occasionally, but the ladies know next to nothing of each other, and only see, without speaking to, each other at their respective hereditary opera-boxes as they smile, and nod, and flirt their fans on recognising one another across the house. For there is an opera, for example, as well as a university at Urbino, at Camerino, as in every town of equal and even minor pretensions; and it would be curious to know with what sums the theatre alone, especially in the Carnival season, walks off in these poverty-stricken communities."

Ideas do not circulate very rapidly in these antiquated Italian homes. If there are any books they are old, and the chances are they are either religious or the very opposite; but if there is little to read, reading is not regarded as a necessity. This old gentleman is a transition from the old to the new; his son is likely to find a career in the army or the navy, or to be elected as a deputy to Parliament. He will travel a little, mix more with the world than his father did, and before long manage to disburthen himself of the cumbersome family honours which handicapped his sire so terribly. He will live less and less in his gloomy old palace, and more and more on his estate among his bailiffs and farmers. The result of this will be his profit and the profit of the country folk, and the loss of the

towns which prospered by the people who ought never to have visited them, except for the brief winter holiday, passing the best portion of their existence there (p. 243). Italy is essentially an agricultural country, and will never be thoroughly prosperous until its city-living proprietors realise the fact that their only hope of earning a fortune lies in the teeming soil.

In Rome some of the very great nobles still hold aloof from the King, and keep company among the Papal grandes alone. These are, however, very few, and every day the number of such irreconcilables is growing less and less. Their chief antipathy is to the "Buzzurri," or Piedmontese, and other Italian intruders, or to the Romans, who early made common cause with the Court, which has now its headquarters in the imperial—or rather Papal—city. They are beginning, however, to discover that to sulk in their palaces and permit themselves to be eclipsed in a society of which they are the natural leaders, is a rather dull sort of protest, and by this time a little out of season. It must, however, be remembered that many of the princely founders of Rome are intimately connected with the Church. They have relations in the College of Cardinals—sons, and uncles, and cousins, in search of a red hat, or a purple vest—and who cannot, therefore, apart from conscientious scruples, afford to offend the Vatican. The Italian Government—at least when Victor Emmanuel was king—did little to soothe the wounded vanity of their nobles, and the legislation which swept away entails, and other time-honoured privileges of primogeniture, did much to irritate their "half-feudal" aristocrats, and now they are rapidly letting slip their chance of becoming, under another form, almost as great a power as they were before. If only they had the native suppleness to see the opportunity which presented itself when an alien king, anxious to stand well in a hostile capital, established himself within their walls, they might have allowed him to throw himself into the hands of the ancient nobles, who were the virtual rulers of the city and the neighbouring country.

An Italian "Palazzo" is always a somewhat obtrusive building. But some of the huge structures which the Roman nobility erected surpass everything in that order seen in any other part of the country. Take the Palazzo Barberini, for example. It was evidently the intention of the architect to erect what may be called a communal house, like the mansions of the Zuni Indians, in which might be sheltered the entire Barberini *gens*. This arrangement is no longer possible. The palace must be utilised to help the family income. Accordingly, you may find the head of the house in one suite of rooms, his son in another, his brother the Cardinal in a third, while a fourth section is let out to an English family who are passing the winter in the Eternal City. Poverty and affection go far to reconcile an Italian family to this housing of two or three generations in the same house. But some of the *palazzi* have a still more heterogeneous company. On the *primo piano* may be found an Ambassador, or some other great personage whose lodgings are paid for out of somebody else's pocket. Next floor is devoted to well-to-do people retired from business. Number three is consecrated to a laundress, and at the top of the building a struggling artist or two may be found. A few years ago the famous Colonna Palace was apportioned something in this fashion. The Prince lived in one wing—and the Colonnes are still wealthy—the French Ambassador and a retired advocate in another.



THE VIA APPIA, ROME.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ITALIANS: CHARACTERISTICS; COSTUME; MORALS; INTELLECT.

It is always difficult, and generally unjust, to characterise an entire nation in a few words. There are, of course, in Italy as in every other country, men and women of the most varied dispositions—good, bad, and very indifferent. Still, every people have certain traits of mind, which can at once be pronounced the fairly accurate character of the majority of the race; and in Italy, despite the varied populations which have got fused together in the peninsula, it is not too sweeping a conclusion to say that they have acquired in certain respects a common mind, though in others there is, as we have seen, the widest possible difference between the people living in one section of the country and in another whose homes are reached in a few hours. There is, indeed, a kind of popular prejudice against the Italian. The stage, the drama, and, to a great extent, the novel, have pictured him as a picturesque brigand, or a bravo ready with the stiletto, treacherous, venal, false, and filthy; and it would not be difficult to find, in the pages of history and of the annals of crime, plenty of examples in support of this one-sided verdict. The tourist who roams through Italy is also apt to return from his unsentimental journey with the impression that anything like honesty, fair-dealing, or truth does not exist within the dominions of King Humbert. Everybody seems to have been in a conspiracy to defraud the hapless stranger. The hotel-keeper has swindled him, the waiter has given him false money, the railroad clerk has overcharged him, the cab-driver has been insolent and extortionate, and the *commissionnaire* has, of course, been as venal as is the wont of his order, while the only public officials with whom the traveller came in contact—namely, the postman and the *douanier*, were quite as much inclined to rob as the innkeeper and his

uids. A longer acquaintance with the people at large will serve to remove many of these unfavourable impressions. In reality, a more amiable and inoffensive race do not exist, though it cannot be denied that they have many qualities which are apt to leave a disagreeable flavour behind them. The picturesque Italian of the pictures is, on clearer examination, about as little like the original model as the Naples of the painter is, when studied in detail on the spot, a fac-simile of the beautifully situated but unhealthy city in the background of which Vesuvius towers (p. 256). The broken arch, and the handsome girl filling her pitcher at the fountain hard by, are all very well, but the limner has forgot to portray the *immondezzajo*, the ever-accumulating dunghill, in the vicinity, and his canvas failed to convey to the spectator the feelings of the pedestrian who had to pass it on his way to the fountain and the broken arch.

Ages of degradation, preceded by ages of material prosperity untempered by morality, and brutalised by the worst of military spectacles—the circus, the triumphal procession, and the enslavement of unoffending races—have fixed their stamp on the Italian character, and it will take centuries of more enlightenment and good government than they are ever likely to get, before the scars of the past can be effaced. Dr. Arnold was perhaps not too severe—regarding his remarks from the standpoint of forty years ago—when he declared that on seeing a soldier in Rome “you feel no confidence that he can fight; when you see a man of letters, you are not sure that he has more knowledge than a baby; when you see a priest, he may be an idolater or an unbeliever; when you see a judge or a public functionary, justice and integrity may be utter strangers to his vocabulary. It is this which makes a nation vile, when profession, whether God-ward or man-ward, is no security for performance.” These bitter reflections are no longer of general application. The Italians fight well; the Italian scholar is taking his place in the front ranks of learning; the courts of law are well administered; and the Church no longer offers the scandal which it did when the words quoted were written. Something of the past nevertheless remains to attest their truth. It is still, for example, exceedingly risky to trust the word of even the better class of tradesmen. Any arrangement about lodgings, or work, must be reduced to writing. Servants are almost certain, unless kept in check by such a document, to present all manner of claims which have no foundation in fact; while the practice of servants receiving a commission on every shilling expended on behalf of their master was so general that until recently the law recognised it, while the judges received such wretched salaries, that under the ancient *régime* it was quite impossible for them to live and yet be honest. “An Italian,” it used to be a common saying, “would sell anything,” and considering the enormous amount of plunder from the peninsula which fills every other country of Europe, it seems that for ages the race had been practically living on the auction of what their ancestors had accumulated.

On the other hand, in spite of the choleric temperament of the Italians, there is a wonderful gentleness about them, an eager desire to please, which cannot fail to reconcile even the irate tourist to their little extortions, and the endless expectations of “*buono mano*,” which makes a pilgrimage through the classic land a constant putting of the hand into the pocket.

In Tuscany this is especially noted. Here the urbanity of the people is a marked characteristic, and corresponds with the material prosperity of all classes which is more

general in that region than in almost any other part of Italy. Piety is widely diffused, but fanaticism is little encouraged, and women are held in profound respect. The urbanity of the Tuscan has indeed been stigmatised as obsequiousness. But those who know the Florentines best are agreed that this is an unjust verdict, for the desire to be friendly and agreeable to each other, and to the stranger, comes from a sincere feeling of kindness, and not from any attempt to appear what they are not. In the south, the mixture of Arab blood has imparted a different tone to the character of the people. They run in one extreme to abject, hypocritical servility, and on the other hand to the most repulsive insolence. There is no mean with this frivolous, inconstant, and often horribly treacherous people, whose traits have been intensified by the long despotism under which they groaned. The Sicilians and the Neapolitans are fair samples of the worst type of Italians.

The people are naturally frank and genial, and ready to accept the advance of a stranger half way. The reserve and suspicion which so struck visitors in earlier times—and may still be seen as a second nature among the lower orders even when resident in foreign countries—were due to the ever-present fear of espionage, to the dread that the confidential stranger who was so communicative might be a police agent in disguise, and ready to appear against his newly-made friends in proof of their being ill-disposed to the Government. Yet even in the times of which we speak, the upper classes were often unduly frank, and suffered for their rashness in speaking of high affairs of State, and of the dignitaries who suffered not their names to be taken in vain. At the present day the Italian is the most conversable of men. He expresses his opinions freely, and expects his *vis-à-vis* to be equally ready to give words to the faith that is in him. If he approves of what you say, he is ready to agree ; but if he differs, he is equally ready to agree to differ. Perfect tolerance is the rule. Hence information and the exchange of ideas circulate rapidly, and new theories are seized upon and accepted rather more readily than is consonant with sound progress in intellectual life. The Italian talks much, but reads little. Consequently, great learning or deep thought is rare, but the rivulet of knowledge bubbles along freely, and is apt to impress those who have not taken the trouble to sound its current that it is less shallow than it really is. But the effect is nevertheless very pleasant, and unquestionably a certain superficial polish is more generally diffused throughout the country among a class in whose ranks elsewhere it would be vain to seek for an intelligent appreciation of the passing events of the day.

COSTUME.

If the character of the Italians is varied, so also is their costume, though this is more marked among the women than among the men. At any Italian festival—for example, that of the Vergine di Piedigrotta, which used to be celebrated in Naples with such pomp on the 7th and 8th of September, but under the new Government is rapidly losing its importance—some inkling of the varied modes of dressing which the progress influencing every other department of Italian life has as yet done little to effect, so far as the humbler people are concerned, may be seen to advantage. The women of the Isle of Procida still retain the ancient simar or kerchief, which falls loosely round the head (p. 261), while

evidences of the Greek origin of many of them may be traced in the golden diadem and silver girdle, which are as old as the days of Homer. The women of Caprera wear a veil, which has been compared with that of the Sibyls and the vestal virgins, and the torso or knot of the Greek statues is still seen in the hair-dress of the Abruzzi women. The peasants and goatherds of the Campagna are there with their sheepskin jackets, and sandals fastened round the legs with thongs of the same material, while a keen eye may detect, without much difficulty, "survivals" in dress dating from the days of the Etruscans, the Romans, and the Normans. The shirt and drawers of the fishermen contrast with the brilliant costume of the Abruzzesi; and the Phrygian nightcap of the Neapolitan *lazza-*



'CURIOSITY' STALL IN ROME.

roni with the peaked cap of the sunburnt Calabrians. The general head-dress of the women is, however, the folded cloth shown on the figure on p. 284; while a love of gay colours and a peculiar natural taste in arranging them may be regarded as characteristic of the people. Districts cling with great tenacity to their own costumes. For example, the Trastaverini, or people who occupy the shores of the Tiber, opposite Rome, and claim to be descendants of the ancient inhabitants, more unmixed than the degenerate folks on the other side of the river, adhere to many of their old habits. At one time they were famous for their skill with the stiletto, and for their readiness to employ this weapon⁶ on the slightest provocation. But during the French occupation they were deprived of their favourite implement, and have ceased to be any longer notorious for courage, though it must be confessed the bravery on which they prided themselves was far more conspicuous in a street quarrel than in the field. Devoted slaves to the Papal rule, and bigoted to a degree unknown elsewhere in their devotion to the Virgin, the Trastaverini were held in high favour during the ancient *régime*, and though vain and boastful, they

bore the national reputation for good nature and readiness to oblige each other, which, as we have seen, is a marked feature in the otherwise reprehensible Neapolitan. The men usually wear jackets of black velvet thrown across the shoulder, the waistband is a broad crimson sash, and their shoes are garnished with prodigious buckles. The female costume is



STREET IN TIVOLI.

equally striking, consisting as it does of a silk petticoat and bodice, which Miss Reeve tells us is, on grand occasions, made of velvet, and laced with gold cord. A silken net, fastened by silver bodkins, confines their hair, and they seldom appear without a tastily-disposed apron of scarlet or embroidery (p. 237). The Ciocciari, or girls whose special function it is to carry messages, convey parcels, and perform various trivial offices of the same nature for hire, are distinguished by the peculiar slippers which gain for them the singular name of Ciocciari. This badge of office is a shoe of a strange shape, generally made from the rough hairy skin of some animal, and it may be added that though the

wearer is often entrusted with articles of value, they are seldom known to be dishonest. (See also pp. 229, 233, 245, 252, 261, 264, 277, 284.)

MORALS.

The possession of a high moral tone, or even the practice of a moderately moral life, has never been attributed to the Italians as a nation. Nor, as a rule, can the people throughout the peninsula be credited with extreme austerity as regards themselves, though in this respect there is a wonderful difference in different parts of the country. Lying, stealing, and a readiness to poison or murder, were qualities which have from the earliest times been loudly laid at the Italian's door. The Italians, naturally, deny the justice of these charges, though it is impossible not to allow that some of the accusations are based on too substantial an array of facts to admit of any doubt. The Romans and the Neapolitans—with whom the Sicilians may be bracketed—were, however, the worst in these respects, and it is from them that the ideas in question have been derived. They were the most ignorant of all the Italians, and the people most sodden in superstition, and debased by bad government of every description. Even yet, Naples is notoriously one of the most profligate cities in the world. Crime is decreasing, though the number of serious offences against the law is still out of all due proportion to the number of the population. The knife is still too readily used, and the law looks with far too lenient an eye on the practice of duelling, which is little better than an open variant of the stabbing practice so common in former times, when assassination was regarded as a justifiable means of freeing society from a troublesome member, and a bravo could be hired to ply his trade almost as easily as an advocate to defend him if captured. Secret poisoning has long ceased to be a characteristic of the Italians, though in the Middle Ages they justly bore the reputation of being adepts at this vile crime. Domestic morals are very low, as might be expected, from the description given of the dens in which so many of the poorer people live. In the old kingdom of Naples, four per cent. of the births were illegitimate, and in the city something like one-sixth of the total number were marked with the *bend sinister*, though it is painful to plead that this state of matters is far surpassed in Vienna and in some regions nearer home. In Rome, the Marches, Umbria, Emilia, and Sardinia the rate rises to 17, 13, 12, 10, and 9 per cent., while in Campania and Apulia it falls to little more than 1 per cent. The average for the towns throughout Italy is 10·57, for the country 5·65 per cent. The foundling hospitals, which flourish in many parts of the country, do much to encourage laxity in morals, and until some restriction was put upon the ease with which inmates were received, the number of children exposed and deserted increased enormously. Even yet the number abandoned annually is very large.

Superstition is innate in the Italian mind, and even people otherwise well educated are influenced by ideas which could hardly keep their hold on men and women of the same grade in more northern countries, though plenty of gruesome beliefs are still implanted in the most enlightened quarters of Germany, Scandinavia, and England. Take, for example, that curious notion of the "evil eye." It prevailed at one time extensively over many parts of Europe, and is still maintained in some out-of-the-way quarters.

But it is in Italy alone that otherwise educated people cling to it as an article of their daily creed. In a few words, it consists in the idea that some persons, by simply looking at others, have the power of injuring them. But, practically, the doctrine is carried very much further, for almost any mischief can follow the glance of the evil eye; and if a chandelier falls when a person having the invidious reputation of possessing this attribute enters a house, or even is among the company within it, the accident is attributed to him, and the guests may be noticed looking at each other in interrogative alarm, and soon after slipping out of harm's way. No doubt such a silly idea is not universally held, but the belief is widely enough spread to make its existence more notable than in other countries. In Naples it is, or was, known as the *Jettaturo*, and when any one credited with the power entered a room, none but the ignorant or the foolhardy would remain.

There are even books published on "Fascino volgarmente detto Jettaturo," notably one by Niccolas Valetta, the motto on which—"Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas"—indicates with sufficient accuracy the rank which the superstition holds, in his opinion at least. It is a very diverting work, and discusses, among other moot points, whether man or woman has most power of the evil eye; whether one who wears a wig has it largely; whether the wearer of spectacles is potent in that direction; whether monks are dangerous, and of what order; and to what distance the evil eye extends; whether it works mostly at the side, in front, or behind; by what gesture, tone of voice, and characteristic of countenance, those having this faculty can be recognised; what ejaculatory prayer ought to be recited in order to preserve one from the evil eye of the monks, and what efficacy in this respect has horn, or any other commodity. Finally, the book concludes with a distinct list of all persons proved to have got the power of the evil eye within the city and kingdom of Naples, of all orders and ranks of society—cavalieri, ladies, judges in the several courts, advocates, cathedral dignitaries, physicians, gentlemen, tradesmen, artizans, and labourers.

At the period when this book was printed only a small percentage of the poorer Neapolitans could read, or would dream of having books read to them. It is therefore clear that the author relied for his circulation among a wealthier and better educated class than the lazzaroni, who, some Italians, over-jealous for their country's credit, will try to aver were almost the only modern patrons of the superstition. Indeed, Pope Pius IX. was by many of his subjects believed to have been endowed with the fatal power of the *Jettaturo*, and avoided accordingly. The origin of the idea is unknown, though it is evident, from the early references to it by the Greek and Roman authors, that it is one of the most primitive and widespread on the face of the earth. Pliny tells of the Triballians, and Illyrians, who by looking wistfully at any one for a long time could kill them; and Plutarch states, on the authority of Philaretus, that the Thybians, who inhabited Pontus, were deadly not only to babes, but to grown men, for whomsoever they reached with their eye, speech, or breath, was sure to fall sick and pine away. Virgil refers to it when he makes Menalcas complain that some evil eye has fascinated his young lambs; and the Romans hung amulets round the necks of their children to prevent them from being withered by the passing glance of an evil-eyed person.

During the Middle Ages the idea stuck to Europe, and survived still later in Ireland and

the Highlands of Scotland, where witches have, or had, the power of striking cattle dead or lame by means of this faculty. To this day the Persians are sorely troubled over it; and the Turks are often much exercised lest an infidel should exercise the power of his evil eye on them. In Egypt it is firmly credited; and the Moors have a hand with an eye in the centre painted or engraved on many of their articles of daily use, to keep off the evil eye. The chances, indeed, are that the superstition is in some form well-nigh universal, and may have arisen out of the idea that through the "glittering eye" could be shot malignant glances fatal to man and beast. Be this as it may, there it is; and in the Italy of our time it exists, if not in anything like the old force, at all events



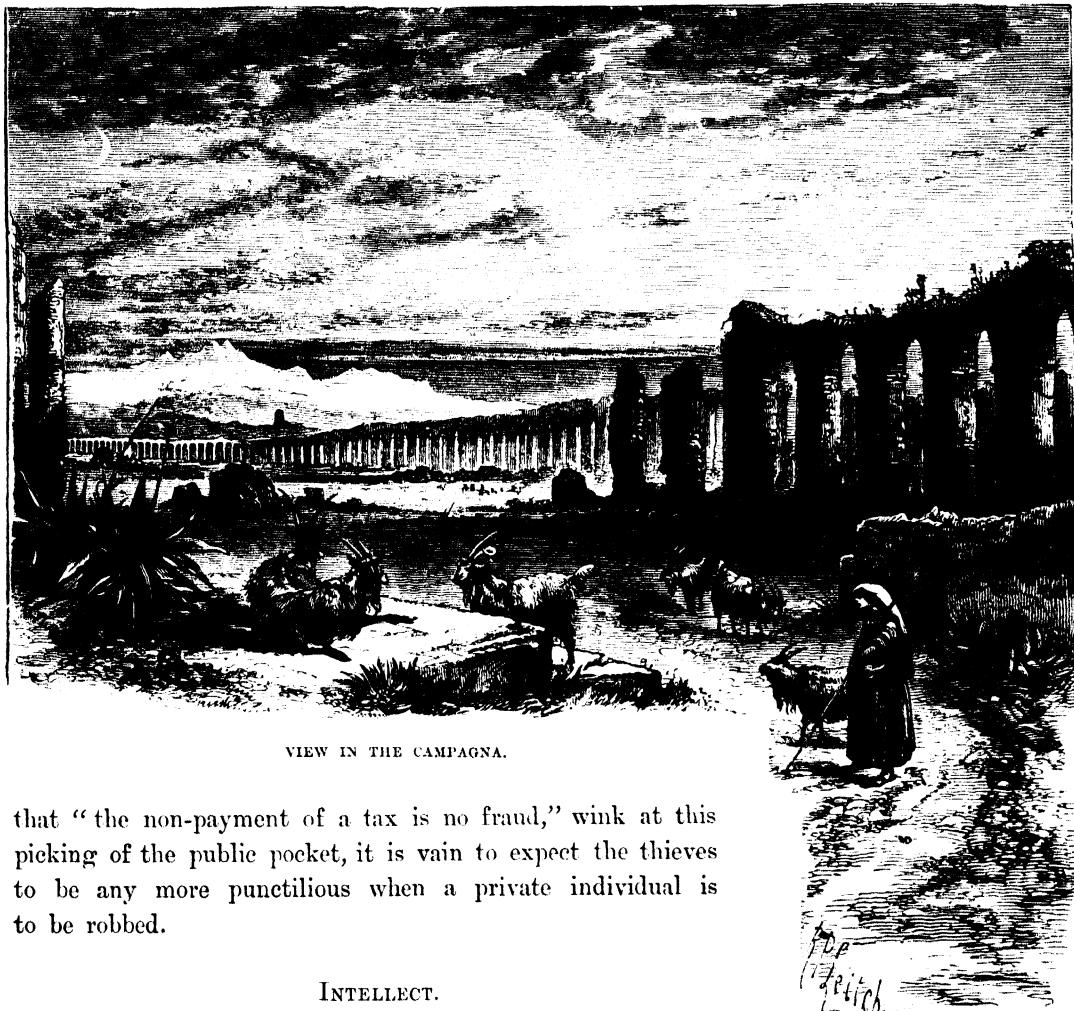
ROMAN BARBER.

with a vigorous tenacity unknown elsewhere, unless we accept the benighted lands of the Moslem East.*

The endless "miracles," and similar semi-religious rites, need not be touched on in these pages. They offer much material for comment, but belong to a section of beliefs which it is no part of our plan to discuss. The reader may, therefore, be left to seek information regarding them in other works, and especially in those which we have more than once quoted. The easy morals of the people are demonstrated by the steady efforts which they make to evade the payment of the taxes imposed by their own representatives. For example, when the law subjecting private contracts and other acts to a stamp and registration duty passed, the act was systematically evaded. In the same way it is enacted that a stamp should be affixed to every bill, written or printed, stuck up at the street corners. Yet many unstamped bills are affixed at the very doors of the Palace of the Legislature. The people have for centuries been accustomed, as we have said, to look upon the Government as their

* Gutierrez: "Opusculum de Fascino" (1653); Frommann: "Tractatus de Fascinationo" (1675).

worst enemy, and on taxation as public robbery, and on laws as arbitrary and iniquitous decrees which it was wisdom to evade, and heroism to resist. The Italians, Mr. Gallenga pleads, are not more dishonest than their neighbours; but their ideas about such things have been perverted by their having been taught to yield to force, when they could not fall back upon fraud. In Italy, unhappily, public opinion is always on the side of the law-breaker, not of the law. If the State, or the legislators, like the worthy gentleman who declared



VIEW IN THE CAMPAGNA.

that "the non-payment of a tax is no fraud," wink at this picking of the public pocket, it is vain to expect the thieves to be any more punctilious when a private individual is to be robbed.

INTELLECT.

If the condition of the Italian morals leaves—or left—something to desire, the subtlety of their intelligence can excite nothing but admiration. Taking them all in all, it may be questioned whether the race is not the cleverest in Europe. Quick at picking up a point, ready at seeing its application, there are no more adroit logicians or more dangerous casuists in Christendom. Since the nation won its freedom, immense strides have been made towards the better education of the people, though here, as in some other useful measures,

the Government have gone too rapidly. They have tried to leap before they could walk, and in their eagerness to multiply universities, run the chance of spoiling a great number of what might, with less lofty ideas, become fairly useful upper-class schools. It is impossible to keep the students from flocking to the university best suited for their purpose; hence Turin and Rome flourish at the expense of Genoa and Palermo, and such is the old feeling of civic animosity implanted in provincial cities that Milan and Florence, which have not the advantage of a university in name, do their best to spoil their high schools by turning them into *Instituti Superiori*, or *Instituti di Perfezionamento*. It is the belief of that most intelligent and cosmopolitan of Italians—Antonio Gallenga—that in their eagerness to make education general, his countrymen have confounded popular and academical training. Let the one be for all, if they choose, and the State pay the bill. But it seems as absurd for the Government to educate lawyers, doctors, priests, and artists free, as it would be for the taxpayer to defray the charges in making a man a butcher, a baker, or a weaver.

But there is a worse mischief still than over-burdening the country with all these fine universities, and that is, that the land is getting flooded with professional men out of all proportion to its requirements, and out of all ratio to the fees there are to divide among so hungry a herd. When the way is made so easy for those who choose to follow a liberal calling, the attraction to learn a handicraft which would more substantially benefit the State becomes feeble. “The nurseries for briefless lawyers,” writes an indignant Italian, “for doctors without patients, for singers with cracked voices, for artists without genius, are too frequent, too cheap, too easy of access; the studies are not sufficiently thorough, nor the examinations as severe as they should be. A nation cannot live by law and physic alone; and the graduates, which so many doctor-manufactories cast out in yearly batches, hang loose upon society, and become its pests, either as needy place-hunters, or as political agitators and adventurers.”

The balance between the different classes of society is disturbed. Men set little value on what costs them nothing, and as a university education is to be had for almost nothing, the students hardly appreciate the advantages put within their reach, and as a consequence study very little, and spout at political clubs a great deal. So many universities have been founded, and are kept up out of local rivalry, that the difficulty has been to find first-class men to take the chairs, even after the emoluments have been raised again and again with a view to tempt them to the posts in question. As a result, they have not unfrequently to put up with men of mean capacity, and, it is said, even of indifferent character; while in other cases, to secure the best, the Government is driven to accept or solicit the services of politicians, whose time is divided between the discharge of their duties in the lecture-room and their attendance in the Chamber or the Senate. As a matter of course, these servants of two masters serve one only, or serve two badly; and, as a consequence, studies at the universities have assumed a “desultory, slovenly character.” Order is badly maintained. Punctuality cannot be expected when the Professor is as often late as ready for beginning work at the hour fixed; and when a parliamentary career is regarded as compatible with an academical one, the temptation is irresistible for a shallow-minded teacher to court popularity by spending the time, which ought to be devoted to a dull lecture, to clap-trap speeches intended to catch

the breeze which is blowing, or curry favour with the powers which have the promoting of Professors.

Italy is indeed the favoured land of idlers. The people who visit it set the example; for no one comes to Italy to work, or, unless the painter, the singer, and the sculptor are excepted, to be educated; and yet so industriously do they make a work of pleasure, that many of these idlers fancy that they are toiling from morning to night, while they "do" palaces and studios, see ruins, assist at balls and levées, carnivals and Church festivals, attend the meets of the hounds in the Campagna, bow to the King, or bend the knee to the Pope. Even the few foreign residents are for the most part recruited from the same class. All their life long they remain idlers, inquisitive, fussy, genial, benevolent. Marriages between the visitors and the natives are not frequent, and seldom happy, since the temptation on one side is generally a high-sounding Southern title, and on the other a Northern dowry acquired in pursuits which the owner of the title despises. But whenever the foreigner—and especially the English—have settled, they have identified themselves with the country in a manner unknown to the alien colonies in other regions. Money is spent lavishly on national objects, churches are restored, old castles made as good as new, schools established, benevolent societies organised, and humanity taught in the shape of associations for preventing that abominable cruelty to animals which is one of the least attractive features in the Italian character. If Italy meets with any misfortune—cholera, earthquake, or volcanic eruption—money pours in from every source, without the necessity of its being asked for. The explorations, which were so infinitely better conducted than the official ones by which local jealousy tried to supersede them, were defrayed by foreign money; and near Florence there is a useful museum of art and antiquity which an Englishman has furnished and thrown open to the public. Yet there is, nevertheless, not a great deal of cordiality on the part of the people to the foreigners who thus lavish on them their wealth and generosity, and who regard the country in which they are only birds of passage as their *protégé* and pet. There is, in truth, a jealousy displayed towards these energetic Northerners. Their activity shames the languid Southerner, and their public spirit makes his selfishness only the more prominent; while it suits a certain class among the Italians—not, we may allow, the best or the most liberal-minded—to attribute all this benevolence simply to a desire for playing the part of propagandist in disguise. And of course there is always a certain religious antagonism which interferes with the reciprocity of good feeling.

Until lately, there was an almost Oriental exclusiveness among all classes of Italians, which scarcely permitted of women mingling in general society with that freedom which is accorded to the Northerners. Even yet, the lower order of Italians are very jealous of their daughters, and impatient of their stay should they loiter when despatched on an errand. Indeed, to such an extent is this carried, that a young woman in many parts of the country would be thought to imperil her good name were she to appear except in the company of her mother; but this idea of decorum never extended to the inhabitants of the larger towns, and even in the country one of the most promising signs of the moral improvement of Italy is the great freedom accorded to society in this respect. The Italians are, by nature, a very pliable people, and anxious to mend their ways if only they could be taught wherein the offence lies. French influence, which at one time did grievous harm

to the nation, has almost vanished, and now the aim of the upper classes is to appear as much like the English as possible, though as the English whom they see are for the most part idlers and wealthy pleasure-seekers, it is a question whether the examples set them are always conducive to the nation's good.

To "embrace too much and clasp nothing" is the weakness of the modern Italians. They are discounting the future at a frightful rate, forming colonies with plenty of colonising to be done at home, entering on foreign enterprises without seeing how they are to end, building war ships for which they have no possible use if the country is to proceed on a peaceful course, and generally burdening the people with taxes so onerous that, unless they are to thrive far beyond what at present looks likely, they will soon have reached the limits of forbearance. They wish to do everything at once. They are never in the wrong, and are apt to swagger most when they should be meekest. "Real earnestness" and activity, it is the opinion of an Italian writer, are not among the prominent features of his countrymen's character; and perhaps the period when the Utopian and the fanatic held sway will give way to the era of the more commonplace Italian, whose great desire is not to hurry, and who, though careless and slovenly, is tolerably sure. "Rome was not built in a day," but for a time the modern Romans seemed bent on rebuilding it in this rapid fashion, so many doubtful improvements were projected for the sake of making a modern capital, when in truth all that makes the place attractive to strangers, and supplies it with the main means of existence, are the very ruins and encumbrances which the local Haussmanns are bent on clearing away.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ITALIANS: LIFE; INDUSTRIES; AMUSEMENTS, ETC.

COUNTRY life, as we understand it, exists only to a small extent in Italy. No other region in Europe has in proportion to its population so many large cities, for the habit of the people has for ages been to crowd into the towns, as places of residence, even when their business was in the country. We have seen how the old mode of Government, the all but independent, or wholly autonomous rule of the cities, encouraged this mode of existence; and how one of the main social results of the revolution inaugurated by the unification of the kingdom was to return, not the people exactly, but the proprietors, to the soil. In winter, the climate of the north, and even of more southerly regions, is often very trying. But for the better part of the year life out-of-doors—walking, sitting, eating, sleeping—is not only possible, but healthy and enjoyable. In the towns, however, the heat during the summer months is extremely trying, and existence in the streets is at that season a burden. Those who can then afford it take to the lakes and the mountains, or the seaside at Sestri, Ischia, or Spezia, retreating farther and farther from the oven-like air which fills



OLD FISH-MARKET (*PESCHIARIA VECCHIA*), ROME.

the valley, and the plain, deprives the tideless sea of coolness, and will sometimes even chase the panting fugitive from the Italian to the Swiss Alps, in his search for an atmosphere less torrid.

THE COUNTRY FOLK.

Hence, while the towns are filled with fine palaces, it is the exception rather than the rule to see a handsome château at any great distance from the cities. There are plenty of comfortable farmhouses, and in the fashionable *villettiatura* districts numerous elegant villas. But in the purely agricultural or pastoral regions, except here and there an old castle, a remnant of feudal times, the houses of the peasants, often poor and squalid, are more frequently passed than the country mansions, which would have dotted a similar landscape in England, and even in France and Spain. In "the Sabina," to take this district as an example, the habitations are wretched beyond conception. There we still see "the *camicione*, the long white hempen shirt common to many parts of the Marches and Umbria, which constitutes a labouring countryman's only upper and under garment in summer, and which is probably the same garment which originally won the people of Cisalpine Gaul the appellation of *gens togata*, in contradistinction to the *gens braccata*, their Trans-Alpine brethren. In colder weather, and in these Sabine districts, the *camicione* is worn somewhat shorter, and instead of the bare legs, it allows a view of the nether garments donned for the season; and, for a holiday, it is fastened round the neck with a broad deep scarlet collar, distinctive of the well-to-do boor. The women's costume is commonplace—a high tight stomacher, stiff petticoats of coarse stuff but flaming colours, and the square three-folded kerchief, the *veletta*, a head-gear in universal use throughout the whole mountain region of Italy. Mixed with these two-legged creatures, driven by them along the road, labouring with them in the fields, or making themselves at home with them on the sill or vestibule of their dwellings, were their four-footed friends—the jet-black, arched-backed, long-legged, dissipated, lazy pigs; the sleek, long-horned bullocks; the lank, half-starved horses; with large flocks of sheep and turkeys on their way from the exhausted mountain pastures to the fatter bottoms of the Campagna, and eventually to the shambles, or to the festive Christmas crowd of the great city."*

This country has a forsaken, forbidding look. But there are other regions smiling with vineyards and corn-fields, or green with the sombre foliage of the olive trees clotting the side of the hills, or with the lighter hue of the orange grove which surrounds the cottage of the prosperous peasant. In some places every tree in the plain bears, as they bore in the days of Virgil, the straggling boughs of the vine, though this picturesque but unthrifty plan is rapidly being abandoned for the more economical method of planting in vogue in most other regions, and particularly in the North of Italy. Silk culture occupies the labours of another section of peasants; and in the southern parts of the country considerable quantities of cotton are grown. But wherever the soil is badly tilled, there we may be certain the labourers lack the intelligent supervision of the master, who lives at a distance from the scene of their labours. The North of Italy is, perhaps, as well advanced

* Gallenga: "Italy Revisited," vol. ii., pp. 257-260.

in agriculture as most of the neighbouring country, though the labourer of Lombardy is (p. 242) the poorest of his order. But in "Sabina" and Abruzzi the country has not yet recovered from the ravages of the brigands, who for centuries haunted the frontier between the Papal and Neapolitan territories. Here the peasantry live huddled up in their close, unhealthy villages, wearied out with the long tramps which they must take morning and evening to go and return from the fields which they till, while their naturally vagrant and mendicant propensities have been intensified by the examples which they daily witnessed around them. In Tuscany the country is admirably cultivated, for in early days, when a large part of Great Britain was a barbarous waste, the enlightened rulers of the republic spent large sums in doing everything to encourage the main source of the national wealth. In the Middle Ages the general aspect of the country, writes Sismondi, "was one of a prodigious prosperity. The open country, designated by the name of *contado*, appertaining to each city, was cultivated by an active and industrious race of peasants, enriched by their labours, and not fearing to display their wealth in their dress, their cattle, and their instruments of husbandry. The proprietors, inhabitants of towns, advanced them capital, shared the harvests, and also paid the land-tax. They undertook the immense labour which has given so much fertility to the Italian soil—that of making dikes to preserve the plains from the inundation of the rivers, and of drawing from these rivers innumerable canals of irrigation. The *naviglio grande* of Milan, which spreads the clear water of the Ticino over the finest part of Lombardy, was begun in 1179, resumed in 1257, and terminated a few years afterwards; and at this day, after five centuries, the districts formerly free, and always cultivated with intelligence, are easily distinguished from those half wild districts which had remained subject to the feudal lords."*

This eulogium was written more than fifty years ago. But those who have passed through the delightful valley of the Arno will be ready to vouch for its accuracy, even when compared with the condition of affairs at the present day. Every inch of cultivable soil is ploughed. Not a spot of turf, not a rood of natural meadow, is left in its original condition, but is planted or dressed by the diligent hand of the agriculturist. Every gallon of water is utilised, and led by a thousand rills over the land, until the whole character of the landscape is artificial. Between Naples and Capua a less scientific system of agriculture prevails. Yet nothing is lost, the warm soil yielding ample crops of grasses, corn, and other marketable crops. But in the country in the vicinity of Rome, vast though the strides in advance have been within the last fifteen or twenty years, the country still bears the impress of the evil days that are gone. The Papal Government never encouraged agriculture, and associations of a secular character being interdicted, any improvements which could be effected only by means of combination and a joint-stock purse were repressed. The Campagna is still one of the most desolate regions in Europe, though in happier days it was dotted with cities, and supported a large population. During the Papal *régime* more people died than were born in Rome, this terrible mortality being due to the number of labourers who annually perished from malaria caught in reaping the harvest in the district around the city. The Romans, or the people in the immediate vicinity, carefully eschew this risky toil, leaving it to the miserable reapers who come down from the Apennines. Mr. Spalding

* "History of the Italian Republics," pp. 107-8.

tells us that these peasants are for the most part Abruzzesi, who, after toiling from early dawn to dewy eve, lie down for the night on the bare cold ground. In this region the earth is sodden with the elements of malaria, from the long neglect of agriculture, the overflows of the Tiber, the gases exuded by the "solfattera," or smouldering volcanoes, which produce the pestilential atmosphere known as the "aria cattiva," and, it may be, the amount of organic matter in the soil. Every night, as the sun goes down, a



ROMAN PEASANT GIRL.

clinging white mist arises from its bosom, and then every wise man hurries home, terrified lest the death-giving vapour should chill him to the bones. But the poor mountaineers are thinly clad, and the fires lighted round their sleeping-places are insufficient to scatter the deadly malaria. The result is, that before the harvest is over, most of them are infected. Within a week the feeblest droop, and the strongest are generally stricken down soon after they reach their mountain homes, or in the Roman hospitals, to which they hurry at the first sign of the malady having seized them. The lesson of the previous autumn has, however, little effect in teaching more wisdom by the time another July arrives. All of the reapers do not die; some of them even escape infection, and so when the Abruzzesi

looks on the starving children, they determine once more to take their chance in the valley of death. All the time this terrible harvest is being garnered, the Campagna has scarcely any other inhabitants, except a few of the hardier animals, with their herdsmen, who, left



RUINS OF THE COLISEUM (*amphitheatrum Flavium*), ROME.

in the pestilential flats to guard their pastures, ride over them wrapt in sheepskin cloaks, and armed with long pikes. These men, so it is affirmed, either die in the first year, or, after the seasoning fever, become inured to the climate which has imprinted its ghastly mark upon them for life.

The Campagna was at one time the most populous and fertile district of Latium, and could not have been very unhealthy, for Domitian and Hadrian had here their splendid

villas, though Livy * does not speak very highly of it even when it was a highly cultivated district. For ages it has been nothing but a scene of desolation and ruin. Here and there the remains of an ancient aqueduct, building, or tomb, strewed over the dreary waste, mark the site of former occupation, and the wretched people who have their homes in these ruined memorials of a more enlightened age bear in their pallid faces and stricken frames a look so sepulchral that they seem well in keeping with the scenes of death around them. In winter the atmosphere is comparatively innocuous. But from the last week in July till the first rainfall in October, it is baleful to all exposed to its influence. For a stranger to pass a night in one of the Campagna villages during the interval noted is a danger that cannot be braved with impunity, the few who, by a strange infatuation, have risked it, usually paying dearly for the love of adventure. The only permanent residents—permanent, that is to say, during the comparatively healthy season—are the agents and servants of the proprietors who inhabit the large ruinous castles or farmhouses scattered here and there over the wild surface of this fertile desert. Here also the labourers might sleep, did not they prefer to rest near their work rather than submit to the toil of trudging backwards and forwards to and from the fields they are reaping, where "the sulphurous vapours," as Samuel Rogers calls them, "exhale as from a land accurst." If, however, the general opinion of those who have studied the nature of the mal-aria (literally bad air) is well founded, most of the thousands of lives which have been lost in this wretched plain could have been saved by the simple erection of barns to sleep in, and fires to dispel the exhalations of the night. This improvement has in part only been effected by the wealthy nobles, colleges, convents, hospitals, churches, and the State itself, which are proprietors of this opprobrium of agricultural Italy. Some of the Popes—Pius VI. especially—made an effort to drain the Pontine Marshes, and during the French occupation General Miollis effected many improvements by drainage, timber-planting, and cultivation. Agriculture on an extensive scale is, therefore, not likely ever to be followed in this pestilential plain, where for three months in the year it is almost death to try and live, and where a few large dwellings like stone towers, a rude hut pulled down at the close of the healthy season, or a wretched hamlet, are the only signs of human habitation. Accordingly, goats and cattle are its principal inhabitants, and grazing the chief purpose to which a fertile region close to the capital of Italy is put.

The soil is, however, the source of wealth to which the Italians of the future must look. Their fisheries are productive, and the Italian sponge and coral divers are known all over the world. The mines are, however, comparatively few, and though manufacturing industry has been commenced with good promise, it can hardly expect to compete with countries better situated for this department of industry, unless indeed we except the silk weaving and velvet factories, which have a natural advantage in the close proximity of the raw material and of a ready supply of skilled workmen.

The old artistic skill of the Italians has never deserted them, though nowadays the *furore* for painting has somewhat diminished from the time when it was a distinguishing mark of a Florentine citizen to be *sino pittore*. An Italian even of the

* He extols the "saluberrimos colles in pestilente atque arido circa urbem loco," and Cicero, writing of the founder of Rome, remarks that "locumque de legit in regione pestilentiali salubrem."

humblest class is always endowed with an intuitive taste for arranging colours so as not to offend the eye, and even in the everyday life of the people there is something singularly graceful. There is also still much of the old classic beauty of the race left, overlaid, spoilt, and intermixed as it has been by the barbarians of every nation who have made Italy their most unhappy hunting-ground. The Southerners have a dash of Saracenic blood, and the Mid-Italians are of a genealogy which has long ago been past finding out. But the Northern people, if not more pure blooded, seem to have received that infusion which to our eyes mixes best with the Latin stock ; and, no doubt also, the comparatively bracing air of the sub-Alpine region, with the temptation for out-of-doors exercise which it affords, has a great deal to do with the rich, healthy complexions of the Lombardese ladies as well as their Piedmontese sisters. Here “the North and the South join hands.” Blonde hair is not at all rare, and brown locks are quite as common as black ones ; while the rosy lips, the great, dark dreamy eyes, the lithe figure, and the dazzling rows of white teeth, point to an ancestry which is more Cis- than Trans-Alpine. In brief, the beauty of the North, like its scenery and its sun, is more subdued than that of the hot, florid South, which brings to an early maturity all the charms of Nature. Are the modern Italians losing any of the old aptitude for art, or are they becoming more practical than in the days when, in lack of anything else to occupy their hands or their minds, every house in Rome, which was not a convent or a prince’s palace, was a studio? In many an old Italian town, like Florence or Papal Rome, every third man was either a painter or a sculptor. “The country,” writes the Anglo-Italian whom we have so often quoted, “was left a fallow, and the town an ‘immondezzajo,’ or dust-heap, for the gratification of the lover of the picturesque ; you breathed taste and genius in the air as you inhaled the marsh fever ; and if in a few months it did not make you an artist, it made you a connoisseur and an art patron. To go to Rome to learn his craft was for an artist a duty ; to linger on the spot, to live and die there, was very frequently his choice and his fate. The English City of the Dead, near Caius Cestius’s pyramid, the greenest spot in Rome, is mainly an artist’s pantheon ; there they lie by hundreds, men from York or Ulster, from Ayr or Devon, from Providence or Chicago, side by side with Germans and Scandinavians, Northern men and Protestants.” Even yet it is the Mecca of the art-lover, and either sincerely, or because it bespeaks the possession of a taste, it is the cant of the tourist to bewail the changes which are every year being wrought in the old quarters of Rome and Florence. These sentimentalists—who are the salt which savours a Philistinish age—belong to every nation, but are very frequently English and American—and more often the former than the latter—though it is perhaps a libel on even the *post-bellum* class of Transatlantic travellers to suppose that nowadays any girl could remember Rome only as “the old town where we saw the woman shaving the dog.” The visitors from the New World are indeed often painfully encyclopædic in their acquaintance with the history, statistics, and guide-book lore generally of the places they frequent. Still, it is the sign of a man of culture, and of an old visitor, to regret the “good old times” of the temporal power in Rome, when, as Mr. Howells puts it, “the streets were unsafe after nightfall, and unclean the whole twenty-four hours, and there was no new quarter.” At Venice the people, who in Colorado would be called “old timers,” were in anguish over the restorations

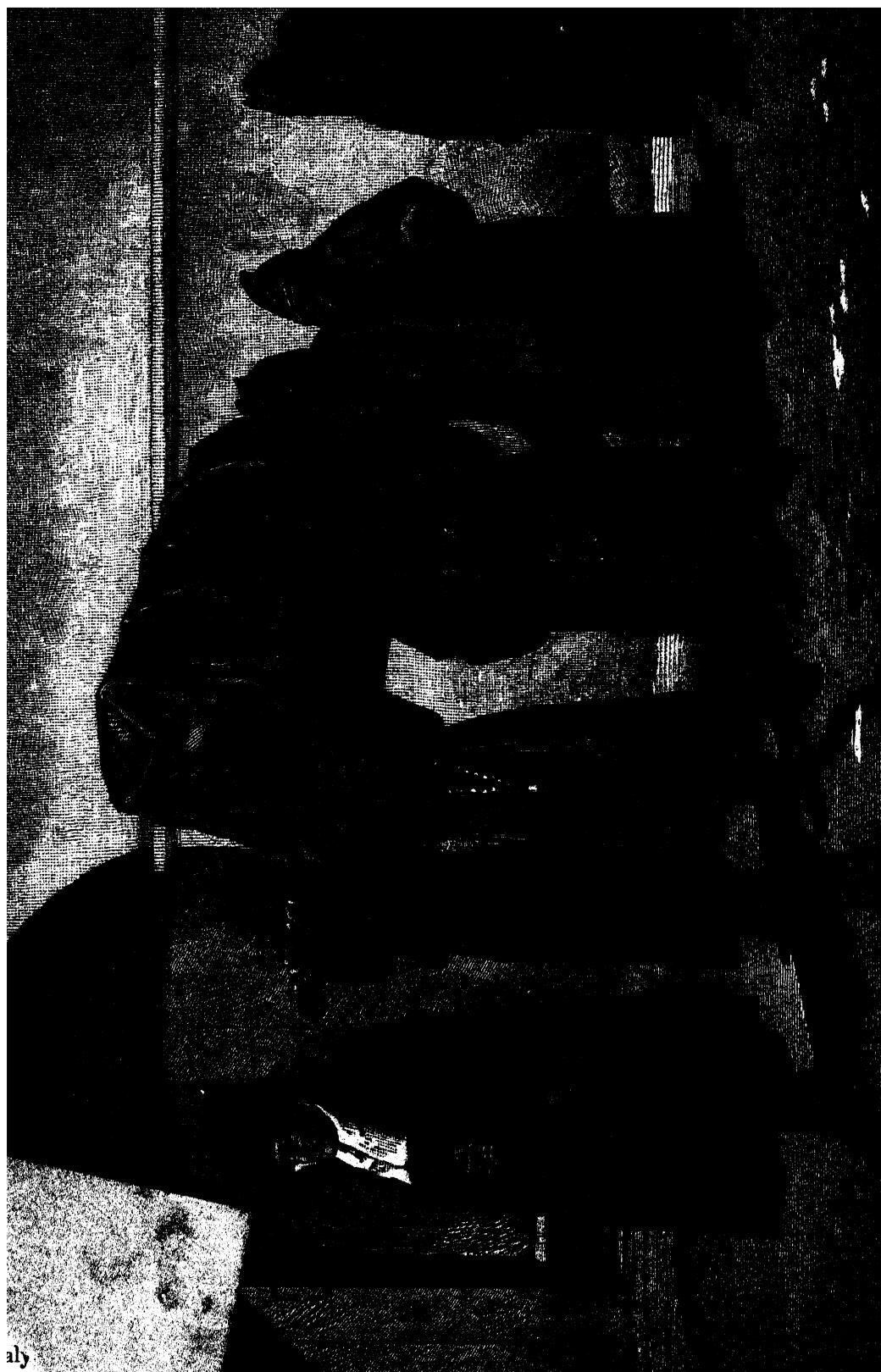
of the Ducal Palace, the steamboats on the Grand Canal which brought the extortionate gondoliers, those cabmen of the Adriatic city, to their senses; and not very long ago a number of distracted *virtuosi* implored the powers that be to permit the Church of St. Mark to remain, come weal come woe, as it was. No one has as yet threatened the Bridge of Sighs, or the Arch of Titus, which makes locomotion troublesome for other people besides the Jews, who save themselves the indignity of going under it by slipping round it. But every now and again there is quite a mild panic among a certain type of



THE PORT OF RIMINI

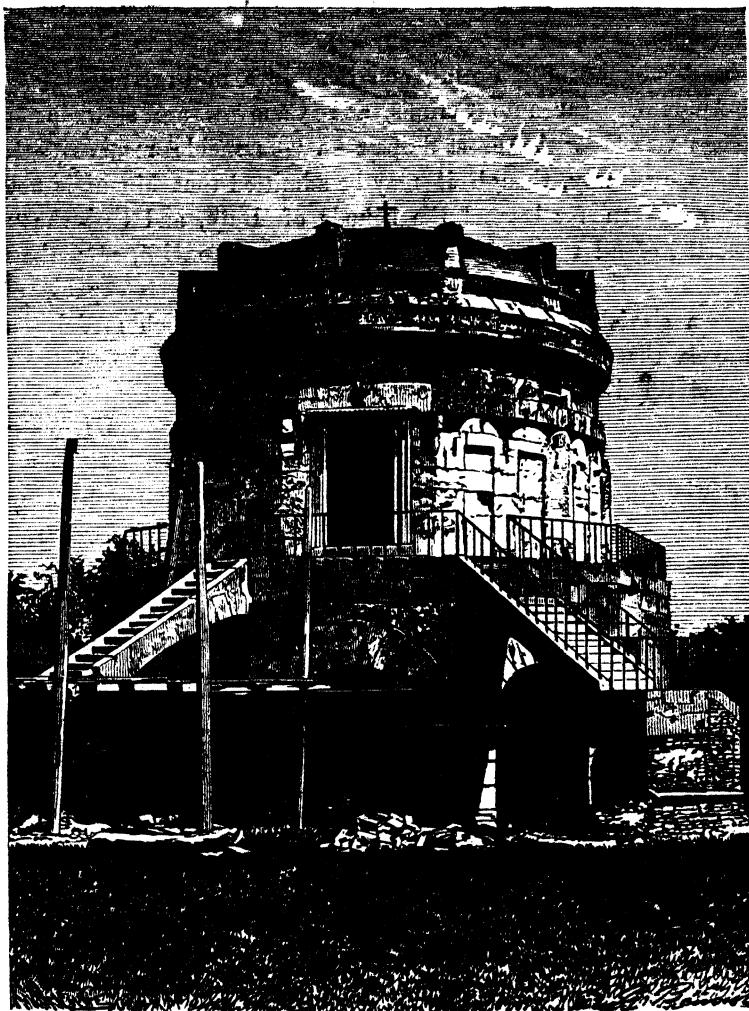
visitors over the threatened removal of the Ponte Vecchio in Florence. And, of course, the corollary of all this is—that the modern Italians are destitute of taste, and of all the virtues which accompany that gift.

However, there is not a great deal to fear. Many people lament the effacement of Temple Bar and the London rookeries, though we are not aware that their number comprises many of those who were doomed to periodical delay from the one, or perpetual misery from the other. Italian art has nowadays fewer great patrons than it had, and, as a natural consequence, not so many practitioners. But it exists; though between the native painter and sculptor and the foreigner who comes to practise his art or study it in Italy there is, on one side at least, not much affection lost, and on the other not a great deal of admiration. The Italian, his Trans-Alpine brother stigmatises as swaddled by



THE BROTHERS OF THE "MISERICORDIA"—A TUSCAN RELIGIOUS ORDER—CONDUCTING A FUNERAL.

his "Cinquecento." He cannot improve on it; it would, in his opinion, be sacrilege to depart from it, and, as a result, he has become a skilful, industrious, uninventive, very high-class copyist, minutely sedulous as to execution, a master of technique, but so mentally materialised as to have all but lost the power of originating. This is more especially



THE TOMB OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA.

applicable to Florence, but it applies, more or less, to Rome and the rest of the Italian cities. Nowhere is there absolute ill-will, or contempt, but seldom is there much friendly intercourse. The Italian allows that a German, or an Englishman, or even an American, may have more audacity in design, more extensive knowledge than he, but he declines to admit that the Northerner (if a true Northerner) can have any idea either of colour or of drawing, for, like the organ of tone, the sense of colour only comes to perfection south of the Alps. The Italian is conceited: the foreigner unappreciative. Art is still a living thing

in the Peninsula, though, as has been more than once indicated, its chief era was when Italy was great and wealthy, when patrons abounded, and the land was not distracted from its cultivation by other and more material interests. The instinct for the beautiful is still marvellously well developed among the art workmen of Rome, Florence, Venice, and Naples, where the trade in cameos, coral ornaments, in mosaics, glass beads, and similar elegant trinkets, is more brisk than ever it was, and the revival of some of the ancient arts shows that the modern Italian is equal in execution, if not in design, to his forefathers. Yet the result of all the Academies of Painting and Sculpture in the Italian towns is not very great. Michel Angelos, Benvenuto Cellinis, and Canovas, are slow in appearing, while what Mr. Gallenga terms—with honest despair—a “damnable mediocrity” seems to have pretty much all its own way, though it may be admitted that Maqui is not without merit, that Tantardini is known far beyond the bounds of Italy, and that the “Columbus” of Monteverdi is worthy of all the praise it has received, while Uffi, if perhaps the “man of one picture,” proves by that picture, if by no other, that he is capable of great things. French schooling—a slavish imitation of not the best of French models—prevailed for so long in the Peninsula that New Italy has scarcely had time to shake off the shackles of the past. “I Promessi Sposi”—that masterpiece of Manzoni—is sometimes said to have been the last of Italian novels which crossed the Alps. The Italians are too serious a people—so they affirm—to read anything but historical romances (and we all know what they are), though of late the writings of Villari, De Amicis, and Gubernatis, have taught in a less perfect form the lesson of Italian being still a literary language. The plays in the theatres are not much more Italian than the majority of the adaptations on our stage are of English extraction, and, with the exception of “Monsu Travet,” are very little known outside the country. The “Italian opera singer” is as often as not a Spaniard, a German, a Swede, or an American; and prolific though the modern opera writer has been, he has still to rival, or even approach, “Barbiere,” “Sonnambula,” and “Norma.” But as long as its language is the medium chosen for song, so long will the fair land of Italy be the home of music, even though that music may not always be of the first order. Nor is the fact to be deplored, for when the Italians thought so much of music and painting they were apt to think little of anything else. They have become men, and have ceased to be fiddlers. The Italian newspapers are not marvels of enterprise, nor their publicists of erudition. But take them all in all they are quite as good as the writers in the Continental “Zeitung,” “Aviser,” and “Journals,” and the sheets circulate amazingly, considering the feeble education of “the masses,” and the limited amount of coin they have to spend on such luxuries as news. This demonstrates the eager thirst of the people for information, so long as the dose is not too large, and the reality of the political renaissance which is in progress. This is, after all, better than living in the past, and rolling, like a sweet morsel under the tongue, the boast of Italy being “The Land of Art.” When Italy requires more art—and under this head few will be so rash as to include the recent erection of monuments to people of so little note that without these reminders the memory of the originals would escape the recollection of their subscribers—Italy will get it. The supply is rarely unequal to the demand. Meantime, she has quite enough, and more than enough, to keep green the story of her past.

All Italy is one vast cemetery, and when the visitor to Messina or Palermo looks out of his window for the first time he finds, in the rude trappings of the country folk, endless reminders of the influences which have been at work in moulding their character, their history, and what art there is amongst them. Everything is, if examined in detail, different from what obtains in the North; yet the *tout ensemble* is pretty much the same, the details superadded being peculiar to the region, an adulteration, as it were, by an infusion of foreign manners. The Moorish and Spanish conquests are evident enough. The men are heavy-browed, thin-faced, intense-eyed, dark, slow in movement, dignified in carriage—Spaniards, in a word, not Italians. Even the low-storeyed houses, with their balconies projecting over the street on carved corbels, are suggestive of Andalusia rather than of Sicily. The veil, or shawl, thrown over the head is Spanish also, while the broad-hatted priests look singularly like their brethren in the Western Peninsula; and the public letter-writer, sitting under archways and in other shady spots, tells a tale of all-abounding ignorance, such as it demonstrated in a similar fashion in Spain, in Mexico, or in the other Spanish colonies that were. The painted cart—a box on very high wheels, coloured all over in fresco, a crucifixion on the splash-board, Romulus and Remus on the sides, a ballet girl cutting capers behind, and the wheels running over with angels and cherubims—is the glory of the Sicilian. He will spend half his income to adorn it, or to purchase the harness, red velvet set in filagree and brass, clinking with bells and pyramids and turrets, absolutely obliterating the sleek little horse which draws the shafts. Everywhere there are vivid contrasts of black and yellow, red and blue, green and crimson, dancing up and down the narrow streets in the glorious sunshine, reminding the reader, whose history is getting rusty, that this is a part of Italy where the Arabs have made their art and tastes the arts and the tastes of them from among whom they have long ago vanished in person.* And if it were necessary to look for other remnants of the Spaniards and their ways, it would be found in the ready use of the knife. The knife is much too handy a weapon with all Italians; but in Sicily this villainous tool is almost the emphasis of a heated argument, so frequently and so readily is it called into use.

AMUSEMENTS.

In a hot country, such as Italy for the most part is, active out-of-door pastimes cannot be very much in favour. "Festas," or festivals, are more popular, and accordingly, though Italians will tell you with exultation or with sorrow, just as they happen to look upon this national frivolity, that the old merry-makings over which they used to spend so much of their time are getting fewer, they still seem quite numerous enough to form the excuse for any and every piece of work being indefinitely postponed. Many of these festivals are religious, or consist of pilgrimages to shrines, where opportunity is taken to make the most of both worlds, though of late years many of these have lost their old significance, while the political ones have taken a form in which naturally they were deficient during the old despotic days. The Carnival is, however, still kept, though every year becoming less

* Mrs. Elliot: "The Diary of an Idle Woman in Sicily," vol. i., pp. 38-41.

and less the institution it was; and in Rome it has been pruned of many of its more barbaric features, such as the wild race of the bare-backed horses along the Corso. But Christmas is still the period for rejoicings of the old semi-religious semi-secular order. The Pifferari, as of old, though in decreasing numbers, descend in their native costumes—short sheepskin jackets and pointed hats—from the Abruzzi mountains to play their bagpipes and fifes. In parties of two, these shepherds perambulate the streets of Rome, awaking the sleepers by the strains of that music which long association has made welcome. Before each image of the Madonna they stop and play a sonata, and then, for about a fortnight at a time, continue their march, taking each street



VENETIAN GONDOLIER.

usually twice a day. The pipers ask no alms, but each shopkeeper or housekeeper gives them something in gratitude for the harmony which tradition affirms was the same heard by the shepherds at the birth of Christ. It is a Roman legend that one Christmas the Pifferari came not, and that year plague with famine scourged the city. They, therefore, welcome the humble visitors; and, indeed, it is said, that at one time they were in the pay of the Government, always anxious to keep the religious enthusiasm of the people up to fever heat.

In Naples the pipers, there known as Zampognari, are less skilful, but their music is not listened to with less fervour, since the rudest and simplest melodies are considered most in accordance with the tastes of childhood. Hence, the effigy of the infant Jesus in the Madonna's arms is entertained with music of the least heavenly description. These Pifferari have of late years made their appearance in England, while another order of musicians from the "land of song" are, if possible, even less popular. At home the quality is not much better, but the result is something more picturesque. Bands of these singers wander over the country, accompanying their voices with the melody of a guitar or lute, chanting the most popular passages of Tasso, or of Dante. Occasionally they are assisted by a grotesquely dressed personage, who acts as a sort of clown to the group, taking part in the

songs with a variety of ridiculous gestures, his antics giving animation to the performance, and stimulating the generosity of the bystanders. Money is frequently thrown to them from open windows, and if at night, it is enclosed in a piece of paper twisted like a taper, and lighted, to attract the attention of the mendicants. If they intone the praise of some saint whose "festa" is approaching, the liberality with which they are treated is greater, and



ROMANS PLAYING AT MORA.

hence the wily singers take care to keep a copious record of such festivals and the legends connected with them. The appearance of the men, though many of them earn considerable sums, is wretched in the extreme, and as their habits are idle and improvident, they usually squander at night in dissipation and gambling what they earn during the day. In all Italian cities Christmas is a joyous season, and in Naples it is especially full of good-natured generosity and merriment. "Last week," writes a correspondent in that city, "brought us scarcely anything but squalls of wind and rain, which swept through the Toledo, upsetting or soaking the stalls, with their array of pretty things. Alas ! for the 'small' merchants, whose hopes of gain have been so disappointed, and alas ! for thousands of children, both small and great, who have been long looking forward to the glories of the Christmas fair. Yesterday

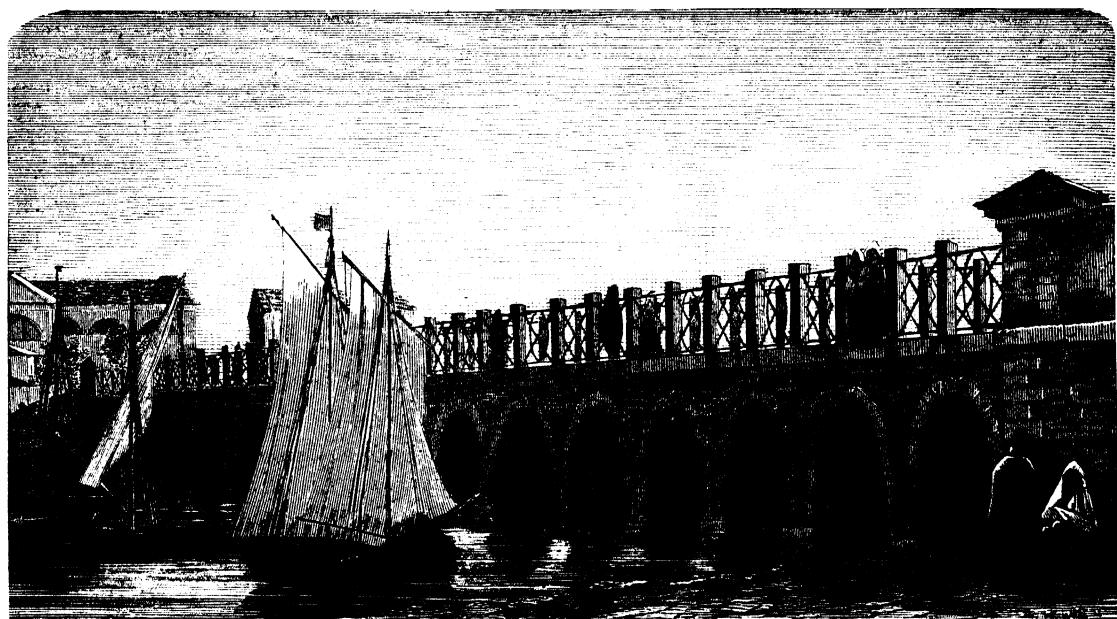
the Zampognari chanted their last carols, and to-morrow they will be returning to their snow-clad mountains. All regret their departure, for though bagpipes are not the most musical instrument one can listen to, still to the ears of the Southerners they announce the advent of festivities and of social meetings, which almost cease to interest with their realisation. It is somewhat of a dangerous route by which the Zampognari retrace their steps, and, laden as they are with their gains, they offer no slight temptation to many whom they meet. Their wealth consists of coppers, and a large bag full they carry about with them ; but they take care to convert them into something more portable in the form of paper money. ‘May the Madonna accompany them !’ say their countrymen, for they carry with them what is to support themselves and their families during the rigid winter. Yesterday was a busy day, and one of anxious expectation. A fast was observed till the evening, when ample amends were made for abstinence. How laden were the tables ! Not an ounce of meat could be seen, but Italians know well how to supply the deficiency. There is salt fish, of course, but dressed in so novel and savoury a way that the most decided *gourmet* could not fail to be pleased ; and there is the *capitone*, the great, greasy eel, for which the poor man would sell his mattress ; and there is a variety of other fish ; and there are ‘*Zeppole de San Giuseppe*,’ made of and cooked in oil, for all animal fat is abjured. Bacchus is as well represented as the saints, and fruits of all kinds abound. But the guest must not linger too long over these luxuries, for the *præsepe* has to be visited, and there is also midnight mass, a grand occasion for flirting and jollity. There is immense rivalry among the ‘*Parrochi*’ as to whose *præsepe* shall be the most beautiful, and thousands, from devotion and curiosity, go to visit them ; also from other motives, for in the darkness and stillness of night many ‘pretty nothings’ are whispered, which during the coming Carnival are developed into very large somethings. And so Christmas Eve has passed in Naples, and now reposes with its ancestors. It has been a merry time, despite storm and rain, and the poor have been provided for largely ; for, like the old English gentleman, it may be said of the Neapolitan, ‘he ne’er forgot the poor.’ As to riot and uproar, they are a matter of course—without them there can be no rejoicing in the South. Pistols and guns have been fired from the windows almost over the heads of the police, and in spite of several prohibitions from the Quæstor. But who cares for them in a country where crime is met with sympathy, and the criminal is sure of the compassion of the masses ?”

Most Italians are fond of theatrical performances, and especially of plays spiced with those flippant allusions to the seventh commandment which Latins find so droll, and Saxons so indecent. They have, of course, various other games, outdoor and indoor, some of which have already been referred to ; while feasting under trees on holidays—the women of the poorer class often laden with gold ornaments which religiously descend from mother to daughter—and card-playing, are among the more everyday pastimes of this simple-minded, easy-going people. But of all Italian games that which is most national is “*Mora*.” Go where you like, some one will be seen playing at this—to a stranger—seemingly unexciting game, and any one who has ever passed an uneasy vigil in a country inn in Italy must have heard far on to midnight cries of “*Mora ! Mora !*” from a group of peasants carousing in the kitchen. At one time it was very generally played by all classes. But for thirty or forty years it has

ceased to be a fashionable pastime, being indeed confined to the streets or to taverns. To an outsider it seems to consist mainly in betting on the number of fingers shown under particular circumstances. Yet, from the shouts which greet a successful hit or a failure, it is clear, as Samuel Rogers has said, that *Mora* "is a game to strike fire from the coldest heart." It is, at all events, one of very great antiquity. Originally it was called "Miciare Digitis," or "Miciare." This got corrupted into "Micatura," from which comes the French "Mourre," and the Italian "Mora." Its invention is ascribed to Helen, who, according to a legend which we are not called on to believe, played it with Paris, and it is certain that the Spartan women were very skilful at the game. Cicero, referring to a man whose truthfulness was unimpeachable, used to say—and the words grew into a proverb—"He is so honest that you might play *Mora* with him in the dark," that is, he might be trusted to honourably confess the number of fingers he presented. The bland character of the Italian, indeed, inclines him to take life easily, to enjoy himself when he can, without much consideration whether duty ought or ought not to order him to work. Modern Italy is, however, less inclined to waste a great deal of time over "festas." The modern Italians find something better to do; and, moreover, their festivals being for the most part of a religious character, the people, being no longer under the control of the Church, experience an unholy joy in celebrating their freedom by abstaining from the outward semblance of its recognition. Indeed, the Pope, to mark his displeasure with the new order of things, ordained that the number of Church shows should be curtailed, and the laws of the new kingdom of Italians limit the annual number of festive days, Sundays excepted, to eight. This is, however, too small an allowance for most Italians. They are always discovering an excuse for "knocking off," and enjoying themselves in the open air; the summer being the season when these children of the sun are most lively. Winter is a purgatory for the Romans, and the people farther south. A shower, or the dread of one, is enough to instantly drive the natives indoors. For months they hibernate if the winter is unpleasant and the spring fickle. "Constitution Day," the *Festa della Statuto*, had to be shifted from March to May, and from May to June, "because before the sixth month you are never safe from a shower, and the green in the national flag can stand no wet." Hence, the winter festivities, Christmas, the Carnival, and so forth, are for the most part supported by the Americans, Russians, and other foreign frequenters of what is known as the "Ghetto Inglese," or the quarter in the vicinity of the Via Condotta, chiefly affected by visitors. But it is at the summer festivals that the everyday life of Italy can be best seen to perfection—the gladnessomeness of the people—their sociality, love of ostentation, their capability of "doing the grand," without regard to that economy which on ordinary occasions is for ever present to their minds. Social inequality seems scarcely known. Beggars jostle princes, "civili" folk who do not deserve this comprehensive designation. Yet there is no confusion, no intrusion, little, if any, snobbery, for every one seems to know his place in the table of precedence, and to respect the prejudices or the susceptibilities of his neighbours. "They take a little air, exhibit themselves in their finery, exchange a few civilities, indulge in some cheap luxuries, perhaps allow themselves more or less innocent flirtation. But the charm of it all is that for that day they do no work. It is time

enough to think of this to-morrow. And the toils of the morrow will be lightened by the thought that Sunday is at hand, and perhaps between this and Sunday some other ease-loving saint may interpose to give them another spell of the Corso, the Pincio, and the Piazza Colonna." And what is thus true of Rome applies with more or less accuracy to the rest of Italy.

In most parts of the country the Carnival is growing less and less. The thing is dying out. This, like so many other of its kindred merrymakings, was kept up by the tyrants for the purpose of corrupting and enervating the people, and the more thinking of the New Italians, remembering this degraded portion of their history, regard its



THE GREAT BRIDGE, CHIOGGIA, GULF OF VENICE.

continuance as akin to a reflection on their manhood. They are trying to be men, and are ashamed of the masquing, the gibbering in falsetto, the capering, the dancing, and the coquetting of this most childish of festas. Indeed, in Rome and the other large cities it has become a mere business speculation of the shopkeepers, the manufacturers of *coriandoli*, or chalk pellets, tailors, milliners, livery stable keepers, wax chandlers, who deal in *maccoletti*, or tapers for the illuminations, cooks, wine merchants, and so forth; though some people of higher rank, out of an idea that it is a "good old institution," and the right of the poor to enjoy, put themselves at the head of the movement for collecting the necessary funds. But even yet some Italians, poor as poverty can make them, will sacrifice anything for the sake of having a domino, to be displayed on an occasion when the world in which he moves is more than usually silly. It is, therefore, not too much to say, as has been again and again affirmed by the more thoughtful of Italians, that the whole organisation of society of former times, the numerous winter and summer holidays, and the alms solicited by mendicant orders, blunted the self-

respect of the whole nation, and hallowed rags and beggary among the lower orders, leading them, as it were, to regard dirt and idleness, and a lack of independence, as virtues rather than vices to be loathed and despised (p. 258). Among another order of people the interminable showy festivals encourage the silliest kind of ostentation. At the noonday promenades appear in every Italian city of any consequence men in the most gorgeous of apparel, and women in dresses of festive splendour. Yet it is certain



THE TOWN HALL, CHIOGGIA.

that the wearers of the one are clerks in a public office, with salaries of perhaps less than one hundred a year, and that the ladies are the wives or daughters of people with the most slender of means. But they have the art of "keeping up appearances" in a manner unknown to the blunter Northerners; and as the passion for dress is universal—the men being as fond of finery as the women—the *ménage* has to suffer that the exterior may be a pleasant sham. The Italians are, however, not alone in this. It is a weakness of the Latin people generally. They love show in dress, manners, and religion. The Northerners have taken to the sober, the almost sombre, Protestantism: the Southerners cling to the ancient faith, with its pomp and outward symbolism. If we except Wales, no community speaking a non-Teutonic tongue, and Catholic at the time of the Reformation, has adopted Protestantism.

LOTTERIES AND "LUCKY NUMBERS."

We have already spoken of the passion for Mora and other forms of gambling among the Italians. The "tombola" is a much more fashionable institution, and lotteries are still employed by the kingdom as a means of increasing the revenue, though all the more enlightened States of the world have long ago become convinced that the sums earned in this way by the Treasury are dearly gained by the demoralisation which gambling excites throughout all classes of the people. The Italian Republics, however, applied the system to encourage the sale of merchandise—the "lotto" of Florence and the "seminario" of Genoa being well-known establishments in the Middle Ages, while Venice made her gigantic gambling establishments a Government monopoly. In modern times, the matter has been simplified to the drawing of prizes and blanks in a lottery, when, of course, the ultimate gain must be on the side of the State. For weeks and months before the drawing begins everybody is in the feverishness of expectation. "Lucky numbers" are canvassed. Monks celebrated for their skill in fixing upon them are bribed, cajoled, or frightened into telling what in their opinion is likely to be the winning figures; and only a few years ago an unhappy friar was murdered for refusing to gratify his patrons by foretelling the "lucky number." Work is abandoned, or attended to in the manner in which people living in hope of an easily-obtained fortune are likely to perform any prosaic task. Then, on the result being published, the Italians seem to grow crazy for a few days, and on their hopes being disappointed, to relapse into a corresponding condition of depression. This, however, is only a brief despondency, for immediately an effort is made to scrape together sufficient money to purchase a ticket, or half a ticket, or the thirtieth part of a ticket in the next drawing—for the lottery gambler is quite as incurable as the player at *rouge et noir*. The devotee of this game of chance may, if he desires to aid his luck by entering into the literature of the subject, buy a guide-book, containing grave rules and calculations for the purchase of lottery tickets, the object being always the same, namely, the acquisition of one with a "lucky number."

The whole subject of the superstitions attaching to numbers is one of extreme interest to the student of ethnology; and as we have more than once had occasion to touch on this curious belief, and may, before we have finished our studies of Europe, have to refer to the notion again, this may be a convenient place to discuss in brief outline the ideas which underlie this curious psychological trait. Every one knows that it is unlucky to be the thirteenth guest at dinner, and that, on the contrary, it is extremely fortunate to be the "seventh son of a seventh son," or even to be a seventh son at all. In France it is even proposed that the State should educate the seventh sons.

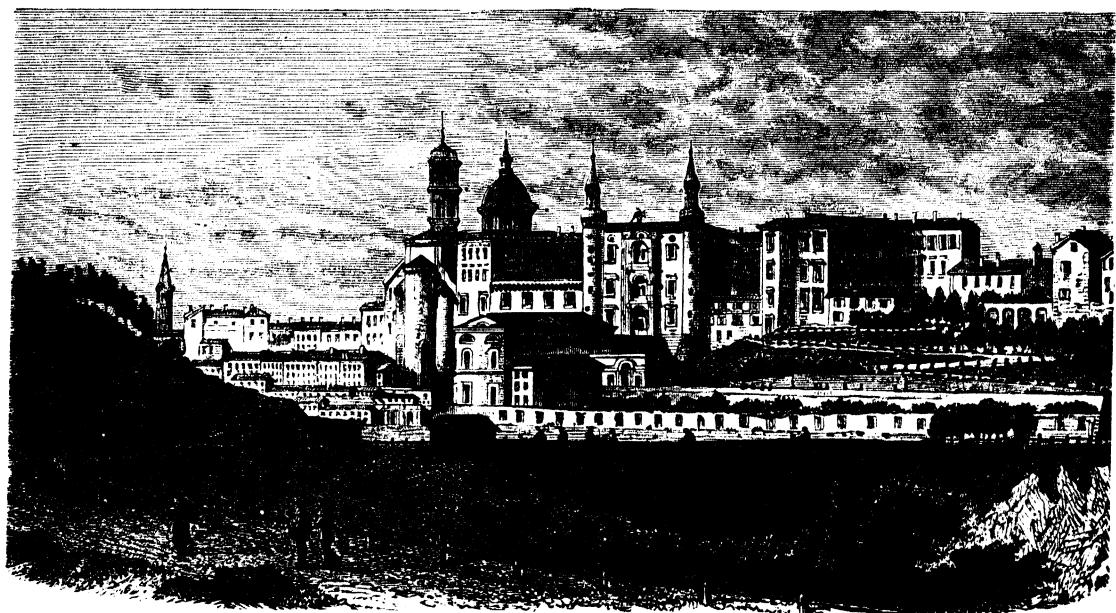
The vitality of some superstitions is such as almost to entitle them to be classed as part of that nature which, though driven forth with a pitchfork, persistently returns. Why it should be unlucky to walk under a ladder it would not be easy to say, unless perhaps the ladder be connected with a gallows; but the ill-luck of number thirteen is probably of distinctly Christian origin. That being so, it is curious to find it surviving and in full vigour in pagan Paris. An example of this occurred so recently as 1884 in the refusal of a householder to have his door marked with the fatal figures. We

may, nevertheless, take it for granted that the occupier of No. 13, Friedland Avenue, had no thought of the "thirteen" at the Last Supper when he had his house renumbered "14 bis"—or, as we should, 14A—dreading the effect which the unlucky number would have on the tenants of his mansion. Nor is it likely that the Parisian "painter of eminence," who kept his twelve guests waiting an hour for their dinner till he could secure a "quatorzième" in the shape of a genial cabman, half the respect for the legend that he certainly had for the fetish. In England there are plenty of people afflicted with the same superstition. But in France, and apparently also in the United States, the notion is infinitely more engrained than in any other part of the world. In New York there is a club which exists for no other purpose than by running bolt against all such ridiculous ideas to try and eradicate them out of the minds of those less emancipated from the sequelæ of a darker age. The "Thirteen Club" accordingly dines only when thirteen guests sit down at the table, and the members of the society form parties, each composed of thirteen individuals. There are thirteen saltcellars on the tables, and every guest, after passing under a ladder specially placed at the entrance of the banqueting hall, deliberately "tempts misfortune by spilling a portion of salt before taking his seat," this also being regarded as an especially unlucky act. Vegetables are served up in coffin-shaped dishes, and the wine is cooled in "vessels resembling deaths-heads." There the proceedings of the club cease to be commendable, if the report is correct that each diner may swallow thirteen bottles of wine, though, by a saving clause, his allowance may consist of a smaller quantity. Believers in the ill-luck of thirteen can, however, point to one or two curious historical confirmations of their superstition. Notably, it is said that the number of the Guy Fawkes conspirators was thirteen, and that the omen had much to do with fixing the superstition in the English mind. Most likely, however, a sceptical age will find the number less or greater by two or three.

In all countries where public lotteries are still permitted, calculations with a view to hit upon the winning number of a ticket form, as we have seen, an important part of the occupation of hundreds who, we might imagine, were above so gross a superstition. Gamblers are proverbially under the influence of these fatalistic notions. There is not an *habitué* of the tables at Monte Carlo who has not his "system," sometimes based upon pseudo-mathematical calculations, but quite as often a mere fantastic combination of figures. The shrubberies around this gambling-house are strewed with pricked cards which have been employed by waiters on fortune to work out their theories. Hour after hour these superstitious gamesters may be seen sitting watching the result of the play, pin and card in hand, trying to calculate out their hypotheses regarding the probabilities of particular numbers turning up. As a rule, they find the plan a failure; and so, if they do not blow out their few brains, they toss away the pricked card, to be picked up by the curious, who may regard it as a nineteenth century monument to the persistence of fetishism in Europe. The professional player is equally certain that his system, if followed, will lead to fortune. The booksellers' shops at Nice and Monaco are filled—as were those in Homburg and Baden-Baden in the old times—with little books demonstrating how wealth may be won by pursuing the writer's infallible system, the philanthropic author, like the inventor of "discretionary investments," evidently not having sufficient faith in

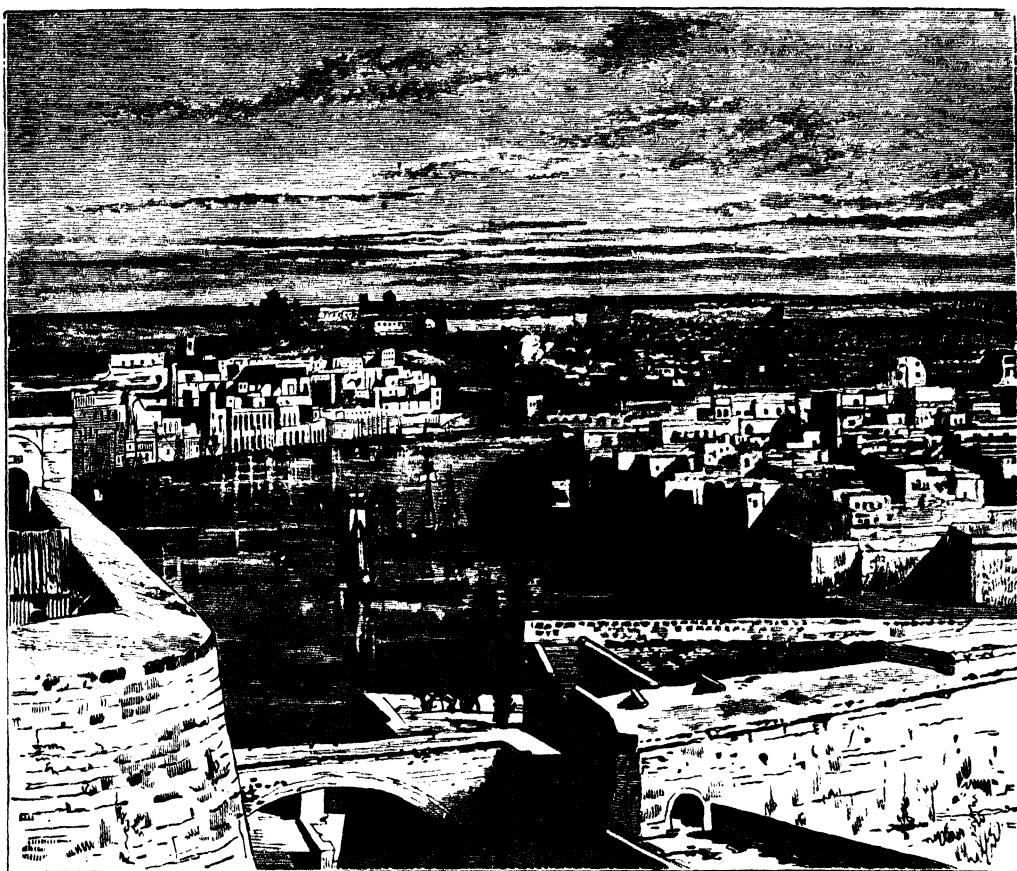
his own astrology to make a fortune for himself. Others will fix on some particular number, and go on backing it at *roulette* or *rouge et noir* until they win something. It is at this point that the most curious feature in the character of the number-believing gambler comes out. From the moment that he once wins he ceases to remember the number of times his infallible system failed, and goes on, confident in victory, until his pockets are depleted, or despair ends his luckless career.

A century ago, when gambling and lotteries were in full blast in England, the person who was supposed capable of foretelling lucky numbers could live on the fat of the land. The "Count" and "Countess" di Cagliostro, among other arch swindlers, affected this



trade, and having been fortunate enough to predict three numbers in succession, determined to earn a competency by their skill, though, as the student of biography is well aware, they not only failed in doing so, but brought upon themselves a host of troubles by incurring the malice of the gamblers for whom they would no longer prophesy. But the Cagliostros were at best but poor imitators, for they modelled themselves on that still more mysterious rogue the "Count de St. Germain" and Casanova de Seingalt, who wandered over Europe, fattening on the same trade, as may be read in the most unedifying autobiography which was published after his death. During the English lottery mania, the idea of "lucky numbers" carried all before it. One man would select his own age, or the age of his wife; another would choose the date of the year; and a third, as Addison tells us in one of the most amusing of his *Spectator* papers, a row of odd or even numbers. In Vienna a similar display of superstition precedes every great lottery drawing. Frau Schneider, for example, buys No. 17 because, the night before, her husband was locked up the seventeenth time for being tipsy; or Frau Müller selects No. 25, because

in that morning's *Tagblatt* there is a story about some lady who has had twins for the fifth time. "Twins is two, and five is five—25 ; and as 25 tapers have been presented to the Church, success is certain." During the year 1881, the lottery journals strongly recommended speculators to invest in tickets, for, as they demonstrated by elaborate calculations, it was a "year of nines," and nine was a lucky number. In 1880, Ambrogio, the Neapolitan monk, who was reputed to be able to tell the "lucky



VIEW OF VALETTA, MALTA.

"numbers" in a lottery, and was so brutally treated by two clients on whose behalf he declined to prophesy that he died of his wounds, predicted, before expiring, that 13 and 65 would be the fortunate figures. Immediately there was a rush on these numbers, or on 37, which in their "cabala" signifies "monk," and, as the numbers happened to win, the Government was muled of a couple of million lire. In every country there is some superstition about numbers, odd or even, and no country is more dominated by these ideas than the Malagasy. They are akin to the notions about unlucky days, which no less a person than Prince Bismarck holds in high veneration. Indeed, the number of important men who have had their pet superstitions is very great. Julius Cæsar, though he despised

auguries, and paid the penalty, could reassure the boatman who "carried Cæsar and his fortunes." Cromwell had his lucky days. The Napoleons had their "star." Charles I. resorted to the "Sortes Virgilianæ," with what result is well known; and to open the Bible at random for directing texts is a practice by many thought to be piety. But, again, it is to France we must look for the established home of the Christian superstition which makes the day of the Crucifixion unlucky. With sailors this notion is universal; but it may be a revelation to the student of folk-lore to know that in France the landsman entertains the same belief, for M. Sarcey assures us that the receipts of the railways and of the omnibus companies show a considerable falling off on Fridays, the reign of reason evidently not affecting the people who patronise those means of locomotion.

INNS AND COOKERY.

In penning these desultory notes on the Italians, it so happens that by some mystic association of ideas the subject of inns and cooks is suggested by the preceding remarks on rogues and other base deceivers, and not improbably many an irate traveller, through the byways of "The Boot," might regard the one as all but synonymous with the other. The modern hotel-keeper is the Italian with whom the passing tourist comes most frequently—and it may be added, most disagreeably—in contact, with the result that he is taken as the average type of an offensive order. He is not honest. He is apt to over-reach; and that virtue which comes next to godliness has never been practised by him. In the rural districts he is, if possible, a worse specimen of a bad class; for then every fault of his urban brother is intensified; and not unfrequently he is, or was, in league with robbers, though in these days, at least, the gruesome tales of travellers being murdered whenever they had anything about them which might make their lives worth taking, may be regarded as a heritage from the past. An Italian is not very particular about his sleeping accommodation, and he would not need to be; for though the first-class caravanserais in the large cities are generally tolerable, and frequently very good, those in out-of-the-way places are bad beyond the power of words to express their vileness. At La Sette Vene, which in old days was a favourite resting-place on the road from Sienna to Rome, it was not uncommon, when accommodation was restricted, to stow the company somewhat closely. An English traveller records that on one occasion he saw the waiter lock up in a small closet a family of five persons, then a monk, next a priest, and last of all two dogs, who were, on the whole, the least objectionable members of this miscellaneous-tenanted dormitory. The truth is—and it may be some consolation to the alien victims of publican rapacity—that the brigands who follow the calling of innkeepers plunder their own countrymen quite as ruthlessly as they do the foreigner, the only advantage the former have being their capacity for disputing the bill, and the doubtful pleasure of knowing when they have been robbed. In truth, a ready-witted stranger, with some knowledge of the tongue, and not afflicted with the shyness of our countrymen, can generally get off a little better than the meaner native, who gives little in fees, but is bled with as much impunity and—such is the strong municipal spirit which still dominates

the modern Italians—is not let off any easier at Padua if he comes, let us say, from Ferrara, which is to the people of the former city a foreign town, almost as much as Geneva or Paris or London is. The rural hotels of Italy, so far as cooking is concerned, are often praised for their superiority to those of most other countries. In a village inn in the Peninsula the chances are that the hungry guest may get a greater variety of dishes than in an establishment of the same order in England, and possibly the dinner will be better cooked. But the question of cleanliness must be left out of account, and there is every probability that the mutton will be execrable, the beef buffalo, and the fowls stringy, the only meat which is tolerable being veal. On the other hand, the bread is generally dark and sour, butter and milk are both scarce, and bad when got, the wine is light and perhaps wholesome; but unless a very special tap is hit upon, the beverage is apt to be decidedly acid. The beds are usually good, if only they were clean; but in most cases certain unwelcome denizens are so numerous, and so persistent in their attack, that the optimist who has tried to sleep can only congratulate himself that his assailants were not all of one mind. This is a fair picture of an Italian country inn of the second or third class; and few of them, except in the fashionable summer resorts, are of the first order. The once boasted Italian cookery seems to have vastly degenerated in later times, for, unless to *gourmets* of peculiar tastes, there is not a great deal in the modern *cuisine* which calls for extravagant praise. Many people are, however, full of enthusiasm for the dishes of Sicily, the Palermitan "chefs," especially, being famous for their repertoire of mediæval *plats*, some of which are historical, every conquering race having left its colour or mark on this devoted island.

Chacun à son gout—many men many palates, many men many minds. And this must be our excuse if in the preceding notes opinions have been vouchsafed which are not acceptable to those who have come to other conclusions, or whose mental twist inclines them to views of a contrary character. Much more might also be said on this theme of Italy and the Italians. But it is necessary to spare a little space for certain people who, though generally classed as Italians, and in some instances under Italian rule, cannot, strictly speaking, if at all, be bracketed with the rather mixed race whom we have discussed in the preceding pages.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ITALIC GROUP: CORSCANS; SARDINIANS; MALTESE; "ITALIA IRREDENTA," ETC.

THE Italians proper we have seen to be a composite people—a pure-blooded race is a mere ethnological abstraction. But when we examine the off-liers of Italy, the mongrel character of the population is still more marked. The invaders by land were numerous, but the colonists, and conquerors, and marauders by sea, were still more frequent. They seized

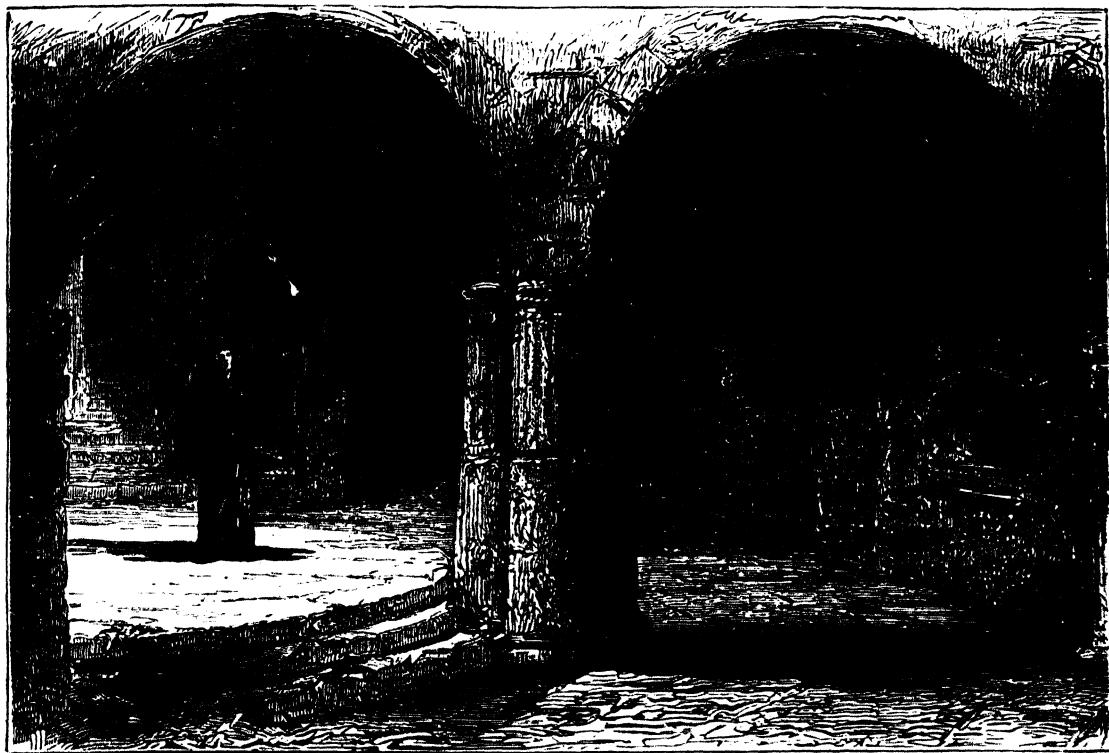
an island, or established themselves on a coast, until some other people in search of a home, or some other robber in need of a kingdom, either ousted them, or compromised the question by dividing the country with them. Hence, in spite of the Italian dialects, or the tongues so mixed with Italian, which are spoken in these quarters, it is difficult to say that the people are Italians, or even that they primarily belong to the Italian group. Convenience, therefore, rather than conviction is the reason why they are tagged on to the Italians. Malta is one example; Corsica is another; Sardinia, the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel, might be reckoned as a third. Even Sicily, which is usually classed as Italian, is just as easily made out to be Greek, or Saracenic, or something else. Leaving out of our reckoning the Elymi, who were probably Ligures (p. 223), the Sicani, who



ST. PAUL'S BAY, MALTA.

might have been Basques, or perhaps Celts, or some Italian race, the Sikali, who were a Latin tribe, and the all-pervading Phoenicians, Naxos, Gela (*Terra nova*), Syracuse, Catania, Leontinoi, and so forth, were Greek colonies, a fact which is admitted even when the hypothesis of Sicily, and the extreme south of Italy, being the mother countries of what was afterwards called Hellas, is denied. Settlers from Africa, some Libyan, some Punic, arrived about the same period. Then comes the Roman Conquest, and the infusion of the Latin element, which it has never lost. In the ninth century the Saracens—that is, Arabs—reduced it under their power, and held it until the end of the eleventh century, when the Normans—or in other words Scandinavians, and Franco-Celts—established themselves. But meantime, and all throughout these conquests, there were immigrants of French, Catalonian (Spanish), modern Greek, and Albanian stock settling there. Many Spaniards came in with the Aragon kings, and all the French blood was not drained off during the “Sicilian Vespers.” To this day many villages are Albanian, in origin if not in tongue, and in Contessa, Mezzojuso, Palazzo d’Adriano, Piana de’ Greci, and Santa Cristina, there are thousands of the same race. When the Normans had to loosen their hold on the island, 60,000 Saracens, all of whom were Mohammedans—though

when one remembers the persistently proselytising character of this people, it may well be supposed that many of them were of other than Arab nationality—were removed from Sicily to Nocera, in the south of Italy. It is, however, almost needless adding that they have left ample traces of their presence in the country, which has taken something from every nation which has inhabited or governed it, though the Sicilian stamp has never been entirely effaced; the Sicilian of our times, as of those of Cicero, never being



CATACOMBS, CITTA VECCHIA, MALTA, WHERE ST. PAUL IS SAID TO HAVE PREACHED.

so miserable as when unable to utter a *bon-mot*. Wit, the easy flow of conversation, and a capacity for repartee, even when the speaker displays thereby the shallowness of his mind, are as much the mental characteristics of the modern as of the ancient Sicilians.

CORSICANS.

Who the original inhabitants of this island, now under French dominion, were, cannot be pronounced with any approach to certainty. The people speak a dialect of Italian, but they are not Italians, and for ages the island was a scene of unparalleled misery, bloodshed, and heroism, owing to the attempts of different races to seize or hold it against the natives, or to dispossess the conquerors who had already established their foothold on its shores. The first colonists of whom we hear are the Phœceans of Ionia, who seem to

have landed about 560 B.C., and founded the city of Aleria, but after a struggle with the natives, lasting for some years, they were compelled to abandon their settlements. The Tuscans then essayed the part of victors, in their turn having to give way to the Carthaginians, who held sway till the beginning of the first Punic war, when the Romans exacted a nominal homage from the islanders, though they did not establish their power for many years subsequently, and even then their authority was frequently disputed by the intractable natives. Colonies were founded on the eastern coast, and in the time of the Empire political offenders were sent here. On the downfall of the Roman Empire, Corsica became a fief of the Vandals, who after being driven out by Belisarius, again poured in and took possession of the island. From that period up to the beginning of this century, the country was never free from a struggle for its independence. Now it was the Goths, now the Saracens, now the Pisans, now the Genoese, who were its masters, its tyrants, its devastators. An incessant struggle was carried on by the heroic people, and meantime trade was unknown, and agriculture neglected. The little the people had was taken from them by the exactions of the Barons, or by the piratical marauders who every now and again landed on their shores. The only way to escape from this ruthless robbery was to take refuge among the fastnesses of the mountains, burdened with little save their arms. In 1768 the Genoese were compelled to cede the island to the French, and after the French Revolution in 1793, the English held the country for a few years, though the want of tact of Sir Gilbert Elliot (afterwards Lord Minto) and his officers managed so effectually to alienate the people, that the French had little trouble in recovering their former power. This was in 1796. Since that date the country has been a French province, and now the people, though still retaining many of their old customs, and an Italian dialect, are getting every year more and more reconciled to their masters; the old ideas of independence, which they so vigorously maintained up to the date of Paoli's struggle, having apparently faded out of the minds of the modern Corsicans. French words, French dress, French thoughts, and French manners, are slowly superseding the strong national characteristics of this singular people, whose little island was so long the hunting-ground of richer and more powerful, but less noble nations.*

The scars of their old wounds, however, still remain. Their *patois* and their church architecture are Genoese; the Moor's head, which appears on their armorial bearings, is Saracen; the agrarian outrages, the hereditary feuds, and the backward system of agriculture which unfortunately distinguish the island, may be ascribed to the minute subdivision of the soil, and to the lawlessness which prevailed at a time when every man was a law unto himself, and the nominal rulers were the most illegal of them all. The modern Corsican is nevertheless a sober man, and whatever he may be under other circumstances, is courteous, and even kind, to strangers. But he is not enterprising, and not very industrious, most of the farm labour being done by immigrants from Tuscany and Lucca, who periodically visit the island with the same intentions as the Irish peasants who used to swarm into England and Scotland during harvest-time, and still come, though in diminished numbers. As *improvisatori* the Corsicans are celebrated.

* Gertrude Forde: "A Lady's Tour in Corsica" (1880), vol. ii., p. 272.

Their courage and love of freedom, also, need no praise ; but the trait which has given them their worst repute is that vow of vengeance, handed down from father to son, until it becomes the notorious "vendetta," which has given a word to almost every European language. This also is a remnant of the period when the law, being powerless to protect or to punish, the injured man took the righting of his wrongs into his own hands. The vendetta was a veritable plague. For a time it seemed to be dead, or stamped out, and then, just when the optimist was congratulating himself on the improved tone of public morals, the disease broke out afresh, sapping the strength, and destroying the harmony of the community. The judiciary was hopelessly corrupt ; the people were warlike and passionate ; and so vengeance worked its way after this dreadful fashion. No verdict could be obtained except by being purchased. Every decision of the law courts was influenced by party spirit. Hence originated that system of the vendetta which, it may be remarked, was not only allowed, but actually enforced, and with far less reason, among the early Jews by the Mosaic dispensation.* In Palestine, however, it never became the monstrous horror it did in Corsica. The avengers of blood were not content with the pursuit and death of the murderer or the robber ; his whole family became their lawful prey ; and in return every member of that family sought to avenge themselves on their pursuers. "Children before they were born were doomed to the same unrelenting life of savage hate and bloodshed ; and boys of tender years were brought by their mothers that bore them before the bloody corpse of their father, and made to swear, with baby lips, undying vengeance and murderous retribution, so soon as their hands should be strong enough to grasp a gun, and their skill sufficient to point it home to the heart of the foe. Thus the hand of every man was against his neighbour's, and this not for serious causes only. Soon the vendetta between different families began to arise from the most trivial causes. A man spoke slightlying of another man's friend or relative, or, maybe, his dog ; a dispute occurred as to a date, a measurement, the opinions of a third. A hot word was spoken. Out came the ready dagger, or the ever loaded gun or pistol ; a human heart ceased beating, and a murderer fled to the maquis or the mountain-side, or the caverns on the lonely rocks, and became thenceforth a pariah, issuing only to commit fresh murders, supported secretly by his relations, but never more known to the world at large ; until at length a retributive bullet laid him low, or his hiding-place was betrayed, and he miserably slain by the military police of his country."† To such an extent had this hideous system grown that between the years 1770 and 1800, when the vendetta was at its height, some 7,000 murders were committed, all on its account. Even yet, it is not unknown, though the vigorous measures of the French Government—making it penal to carry weapons except under certain conditions—did much to suppress the crime. This law is now rescinded, with the result that the number of murders is again on the increase. The women and children were invariably spared in a vendetta, though this compliment was not always reciprocated, since women sometimes took an active part in a vendetta,

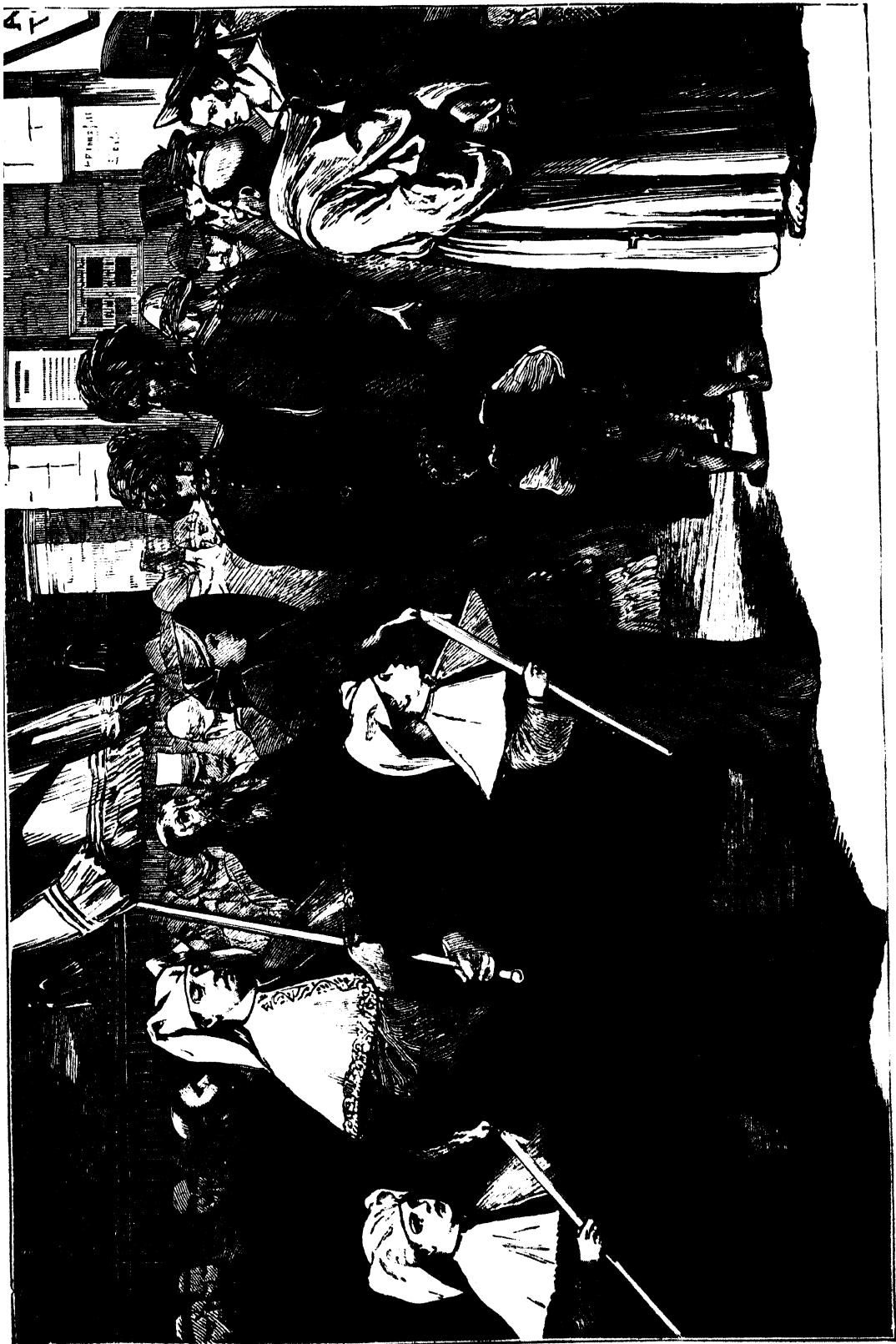
* Until very recently, a similar feud was common in some of the Southern United States ; and the Irish "faction fight" may be regarded as not widely different.

† Gertrude Forde : "A Lady's Tour in Corsica," vol. i., p. 176.

and were of course the provoking cause of many a masculine quarrel. The Corsican, on the other hand, is honest, hospitable, and truthful. The petty vices of more refined communities are strangers to his character; and altogether, if their friends are to be accepted as good judges, these islanders are infinitely superior to the Sardinians, sprung, no doubt, from a kindred race, but whose history has, of late years, at least, been vastly different.

SARDINIANS.

Only the narrow Strait of Bonifacio separates Sardinia from Corsica ; and unquestionably the two islands, whose destinies have lain so wide apart, are of similar origin, and were at one period a single land-mass. Nor can there be much doubt as to the natives having been originally of the same stock as the Corsicans. Their island is still very primitive. The people, like those of Sassari and Cagliari, have been little influenced by modern changes, though Spanish influence has, owing to the long occupation of the island by the Spaniards, given the physique and manners of the people a more Iberian than Italian cast. The ordinary costume of all classes is a black cloth blouse, without sleeves, black gaiters, a black Phrygian cap, white knee-breeches, and white shirt-sleeves, sometimes adorned with handsome gold buttons, while a gun slung across the shoulder, and a huge curved knife in a leather scabbard form the almost constant accompaniment of the peasant, even when ploughing in the fields. In many respects the Sardinians agree in character with the Corsicans. They are, like them, frightfully revengeful, and deadly feuds of the vendetta order are still so common that the number of assassinations has been estimated at something like one thousand per annum. On the other hand, they have none of the vivacity of the Italians, being a grave, rather dignified, race. The Corsicans—who love them indifferently—declare that they are treacherous : “a race of robbers, assassins, and liars,” who will take advantage of a lonely stranger in preference to any one who would give them more trouble. In Corsica a murder for greed is unknown ; the traveller’s purse is safe among the wildest inhabitants ; and though murders are, and have been, common enough, few of them have their origin in any lower motive than an exaggerated sense of honour, or a love of lawless freedom and adventure. Quarrelling over money is very unusual. In Sardinia the love of plunder is the ruling passion of the outlaw, though their friends will have it that a more loyal, a more chivalrously honourable, or a more hospitable people than the Sardinians does not exist. Hospitality is indeed essential if the country is to be explored at any distance off the highways, while an irksome form of etiquette often proves extremely trying to the traveller unfamiliar with Sardinian ways of life. Fever is common on the low grounds ; and as a precaution, the country people are in the habit of wearing fleeces, even under the rays of a summer sun. The country is, however, terribly behind the rest of even the most backward portion of Italy. Education is much neglected, the majority of the inhabitants being unable to read or write, while their *patois*—which resembles Latin more closely than Italian or Spanish—is broken up into a number of dialects perfectly incomprehensible to a stranger, even when he is



PILGRIM PROCESSION IN THE STRADA REALE, VALETTA, MALTA.

familiar with all the tongues to which they are allied. The Phœnicians were, as usual with so many other parts of the Mediterranean, the earliest masters of Sardinia; but after the first Punic war this island, like its nearer neighbour, fell into the hands of the Romans, who, however, did not colonise the country, the bad climate repelling them, while the intractable character of the natives gave rise to the proverb of anything cheap being of as little value as a Sardinian slave. The Vandals, the Arabs, the Genoese, the Pisans, the Spaniards, the Austrians, and the Savoyards, successively held it; and to this day the island bears the marks of all these successive waves of conquerors and colonists.

MALTESE.

Malta, Comino, and Gozo are also commonly described as outliers of Italy. Indeed among the ultra-patriotic Italians they are sometimes included in that "Italian Irridenta," which spoils the sleep of so many people who ought to know a great deal better. The truth is, however, that they are no more Italian than they are Arabic, or French. The English rule them, but as we shall presently see, the 150,000 Maltese speak a dialect in the towns largely intermixed with Italian words, only owing to the fact that they have much intercourse with the mainland, or with Italian seafaring folk. Their origin is something very different. "L'ultimo sasso d'Europa" of the Italians is evidently the remnant of a more extensive land, either of an insular formation, or attached to the continent. In either case, however, it is plain at mere sight that the present islands of Malta, Gozo, &c., are portions of a larger submerged land, which extended towards, or possibly was united with Africa. Geologically speaking, therefore, the group of Malta is far from corresponding to the description which it has pleased some persons to give to it.

The Maltese language is one of the noblest remnants of the old Semitic stock. It is still spoken with scarcely any foreign admixture by the country people, though it is greatly corrupted in the towns, where visitors who write upon the islands usually study it. The following example, the Lord's Prayer, continually repeated and understood alike by educated town-bred gentleman and ignorant peasant, will show how far the language is free from any foreign element:—

"Missierna li inti fis-smeuet idkaddes Ismek tijina Saltnatek ikun li trid Int kif fis-sema ek da f'lart. Hobzna ta kul yum atina il-lum ahfrilna dnubietna bhal ma nahfru lil min nata għalina uʃaddahhalniex fit-tijrif izda għeħlisna mid-deni.—Amen."

The foreign words introduced in the Maltese language are, generally speaking, names of objects, or accidental things, unknown to the first inhabitants or to their civilisation. The way, however, in which such foreign words are used and rendered Maltese through inflection is a further proof of the Semiticism of the language. At the time of the Apostles the Maltese language was spoken in its purity, and St. Luke (Acts, chap. xxviii. v. 2) calls the natives *barbaroi* ("barbarous people"), a qualification given to such as were not Romans or Greeks, or spoke not the Latin or Greek tongue. Whether the original Phœnician language was in the course of time abandoned for its near of kin, the Punic, cannot be easily ascertained. St. Augustine, however, speaks of the Punic, Hebrew, and

Syriac as closely allied, nay, sister languages. Now, many Maltese words can be very easily traced to Hebrew roots, and, what is more to the point, Aguis de Soldanis, a learned Maltese Orientalist, succeeded in explaining by means of the Maltese language the Punic dialogue in the "Pœnulus" of Plautus.

An inscription—one of the four which Gesenius qualifies as "eximie Melitenses," for their perfect orthography and good preservation—confirms the above statements; as the interpretation of the same given by that distinguished scholar by means of the Hebrew language, can as well be obtained through the Maltese.*

The original colonists of the Maltese Islands—the Phœnicians—to whom for our purpose may also be added the Carthaginians—enjoyed a long and undisturbed possession of the group of Malta (from 1500 B.C. to 700 B.C.), which allowed them to increase into a dense population on it, and to implant their language as the original tongue of its people. (Diodorus Siculus.)

On that language, subsequently others of the same stock, such as the Arabic, were able, through the force of circumstances, to exercise a most powerful influence; but never entirely to obliterate its original and marked characteristics. Thus the much-abused Maltese language, however Arabic and mongrel it may seem to the superficial observer, cannot fail to strike the student of its beauties and characteristics with the fact that though indisputably a language of the Semitic stock, it cannot, nevertheless, be properly traced to any of the known Semitic languages. It possesses certain marked differences from them, and certain peculiarities all its own, which constitute it a separate language distinct from Hebrew, Syro-Chaldaic, Arabic, &c., a circumstance which adds one more proof in favour of the theory that the Maltese is a living remnant of the language of the Phœnicians.

Gesenius, the eminent Orientalist, who seems to have only possessed a scanty knowledge of the Maltese, stigmatised it, on very poor premisses, as a mere *patois* of the Arabic language.† Fortunately, however, in a later work,‡ he gives a list of Phœnician words, collected with great labour, and derived from the Phœnician inscriptions (mostly found in Malta) deciphered by him and other savants; and this result of his arduous studies is a virtual retraction of the conclusion to which he had so lightly arrived in his former work, as the Phœnician words given in his list correspond for the most part in root, inflection, and pronunciation with the Maltese language.

It may be observed that when the Arabs conquered Syria they found there a people speaking a language identical with the Maltese, or from which the Maltese was derived. On that language the Arabic could easily be engrafted. The same happened to a certain extent in Malta, and in fact the people with whom the Maltese can most easily make themselves understood are the natives of Syria. A Maltese finds little difficulty in understanding the liturgy of the Christians of Mount Lebanon.

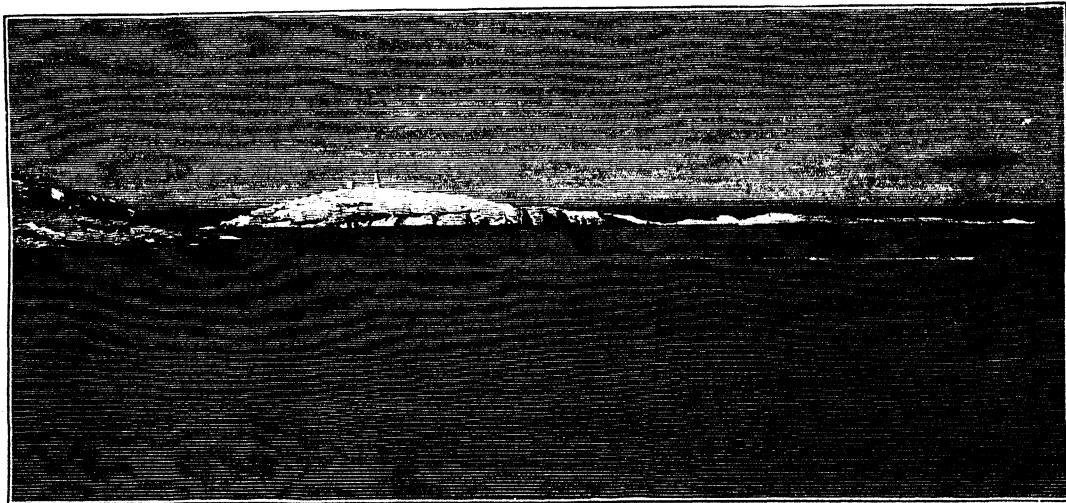
It has been asserted—in support of the theory of the total Arabism of the Maltese language—that the Arabs during three centuries of domination supplanted it by their

* Amabile Preca: "Saggio intorno alla lingua Maltese come affine dell' Ebraico" (1880), p. 97.

† Versuch über die Maltesische Sprache" (1810).

‡ "Scriptores Linguæque Phœniciae Monuments quotquot supersunt" (1815).

own, nay, that the original inhabitants were almost destroyed as a people, and that the present race are mainly the descendants of the Arabs. But in the first place it was highly improbable, not to say impossible, that the Arabs should have been in great force in the island. Malta does not offer at this day any incentives for a conquering nation to settle in it; it does not present the advantages of fertility or of richness, and it is positive that it offered infinitely less at that time. Hence, the only purpose for which it could have served the Arabs was as an outpost to their African empire, or as an advanced post for their European conquests. In any case they must have held it with a very small force, and they had no necessity or reason to settle on it in large numbers. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that the Arabs in Malta, always in a small minority,



SALMONA ISLAND, NEAR POINT KOURA, MALTA.

should have been able to spread so much of their language amongst the people as to make them forget or abandon their own. In the second place, the Arab garrison or settlement in Malta, whatever might have been its number, could hardly exercise any great influence on the language of the people, for the obvious reason that between the conquerors and the conquered existed the most marked antipathy on account of difference of religion. It is, in fact, historically certain that during the greater part of the Arab domination, the Maltese (Christians) laboured under a state of constant persecution at the hands of their Mahomedan conquerors, and if so, how could they fuse themselves with the Arabic element? It may be said that this long and bloody persecution destroyed the Maltese element. In that case, who was it that sought the aid of the Norman Knights, and helped them to drive the Arabs out of Malta? The only plausible way of explaining the undoubted Arabisms occasionally to be met with in the Maltese language is the constant intercourse, for trading purposes, which the Maltese have had with the Arab populations of the East, and with other peoples of the same stock on whose language the Arabic had exercised an influence.

One of the chief characteristics of the Maltese is their attachment to the faith

and religion of their forefathers. Next comes their loyalty, of which there are many instances, during the dominion of the Spaniards and the Knights of St. John. It is true that in 1798 they rose to a man against the French; but the French had despoiled their churches, and in the name of Liberty and Equality ruled them with an iron rod. The industry and sobriety of the Maltese are proverbial; with the sweat of their brow they succeed in raising from a barren soil a plentiful crop of garden produce, delicate fruits, and they export to England their early potatoes. A State-controlled emigration to Northern Africa would afford a fine opening to the overflowing population. There the industry of the Maltese would revive the garden of the Hesperides, and their loyalty would in a great measure augment British influence in the Levant and Northern Africa.



POINT KOURA, MALTA.

If England were to see its way towards raising somewhat the standard of mental culture and manners amongst this small but very interesting race, she would in the long run reap immense profit. By throwing into Africa and the Levant a highly-educated Maltese element, England could secure unlimited influence there; for the Maltese, naturally intelligent and sharp, want only sound education to be equal to the other civilised races. At present, the Maltese element is to be found in large numbers everywhere in Barbary and the Levant, and a well-planned scheme of education would raise it to be the most powerful factor in those countries.*

Though slowly but surely giving way to a more modern civilisation, many of the old customs are still prevalent in the country, such as a peculiar ceremony on the occasion of betrothals, or the still stranger dance (*il Karinza*), the remnant, perhaps, of some pagan bacchanalia, which is occasionally performed in Gozo.

Maltese literature is still in its leading strings, but a great deal is being done

* See the reports of Mr. Rowsell, Sir P. Julyan, and Sir P. Keenan, on the Taxation and Expenditure, the Civil Establishments, and the Educational System of Malta (Parliamentary Papers, 1878—1880).

towards providing elementary books of general information, and collecting stories and folk-lore in appropriate volumes. Much may be done by studying these traditions and tales, all of them bearing the unmistakable stamp of their Semitic origin.* The "Semitic Society" has been working for the last five or six years, with the twofold object of cultivating and studying the Maltese language, and of diffusing useful knowledge in Maltese for the Maltese people. As a primary necessity, they have formed a new Maltese alphabet, and fixed the orthography of the language, while since August, 1884, they have been publishing a bi-monthly paper, containing useful knowledge and amusing matter for the people. Still more recently, in the hope of kindling in their country-folk a love for reading, through which they are sanguine, in course of time, of developing their minds and raising the standard of their education, they have issued "*Quari gall Maltin mañrūj mix—Xirka Xemia*" (*i.e.*, "Reading for the Maltese, issued by the Semitic Society"), an illustrated serial, with well-written articles in the usual magazine style.

To these remarks very little need be added, except that the Maltese are, as a rule, a strong, well-formed race, dark, lithe, and handsome, the women endowed with the black eyes, fine carriage, and glossy hair of the East, though, if exposed to the sun, or habituated to hard work, they are, like most Southern people, apt to grow old when a Northerner is still in her prime. Easy good nature and cheerfulness are the most salient characteristics of the Maltese. As a people they are industrious—without incessant labour their thickly-populated island would be no home for them—content, and forced to be content, with little, though when roused they are, like the Mediterranean people generally, too apt to take swift vengeance with the weapon which is readiest to their hand. The humbler people, especially in Valetta and the other towns, are very poor and badly housed. But riches are the exception in Malta; and in no part of the world is there a peerage with less of the world's wealth than in the "island called Melita," though perhaps nowhere else is rank without riches more respected. A few olives, some bread or pasta, a little oil, or cheese, form the ordinary dietary of the poor. Meat they seldom taste; and, being a sober race, they drink very little of the thin wine of their island. Most of the Maltese are Roman Catholics, and are noted for the devoutness of their faith, which to the eye of the stranger is outwardly demonstrated by the unusually elaborate Church festivals and ceremonials, the perpetual ringing of bells, and the peculiar method of striking time, so common in Southern Italy (p. 309).

The islands are, and for long have been, too small for the islanders. They are, however, an enterprising people; and though patriotic, are not afraid of wandering far afield when they see a chance of bettering themselves. As becomes the descendants of the roving Phœnicians, they go everywhere, though the climate and affinities of language naturally attract them to the Levant and the north shores of Africa, which for many years has been their El Dorado. In Tunis we are every now and again hearing of the

* For the preceding notes, and much other literary assistance in preparing this sketch of the Maltese, I am indebted to my esteemed correspondent Mr. P. F. Bellanti, of the Chief Secretary's Office at Valletta, whose unwearied interest in everything that concerns the intellectual advancement of Malta and its people is so well known.

number of British subjects in that regency under French protection. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they are Maltese ; and all along the shores of the Mediterranean, though more especially on the African coast, we find little colonies of our Maltese fellow-countrymen ; and it may be added that though few of them are capitalists, they hold their own with admirable tenacity. The analogies of their language with that of the natives aid them considerably. Indeed, the Reverend Dr. Caruana,* without adopting the sweeping conclusions of Genesius regarding the Arabic basis of the Maltese tongue, and the pretensions of the Punic origin and nature of the idiom being chiefly due to the national vanity of the islanders, states from his own knowledge that not only do the Maltese colonies on the African shores of the Mediterranean, and the Maltese traders on the shores of the Syrian Sea, understand rather easily the colloquial Arabic there (p. 311), but in a few weeks' intercourse quickly pick up and adopt the Arabic inflections and forms different from their own. This is beyond doubt a telling fact. At the same time, any argument derivable from this circumstance is somewhat neutralised by the Maltese not finding the same facility in their intercourse with the Arab tribes of the interior of those two countries, who may still be considered as a pure Arabic stock without much blood-blending with the prior Phœnician and Punic races living in Phœnicia and Carthage. As for the literary Arabic, this is thoroughly foreign to the Maltese. Hence, the great congruity of the Maltese with the vulgar Arabic diction of the northern shores of Africa, and the western shores of Syria, in which parts of the Mediterranean borders the people who supplied so many elements to the Maltese tongue had either settled or traded.†

"ITALIA IRREDENTA."

We have now sketched, in as full an outline as our space will admit of, the countries which can properly be claimed as Italian, or which may be so styled for lack of a more accurate title. But the Italian is not content with this. He reckons as "unredeemed Italy" every region where the people are of Italian descent, or speak the Italian tongue in any of its dialects. Taking this exaggerated view of the "rights of nationalities," much of Switzerland—such as the Canton of Ticino, and part of the Grisons—is "Italia Irredenta." Even Neuchatel, Broye, Vaude, Valais, and other places where the Rhæto-Romance dialect is still spoken, as it is in Aosta and Friuli (or it is in the Swiss Engadine), are also to be reckoned part of the Italy which must be recovered. Of course, the Wälsch, or Italian Tyrol, or the Trentino, as it is often called, comes under this category, as well as the Austrian region of Görz, Istria, along with Trieste and the Dal-

* Librarian of the Public Library, Valetta, in his valuable "Report on the Phœnician and Roman Antiquities in the Group of the Islands of Malta" (1882), pp. 75, 76.

† See also Ciantiar and Abela: "Malta Illustrata" (1772); Godwin: "Guide to and Natural History of the Maltese Islands" (1880); Porter: "History of Knights of Malta" (1858); Quintino: "Descrittione dell' Isola di Malta" (1536); Vella: "Maltese Grammar for the Use of the English" (1831); Vassalli: "Ktyb yl Klym Malta" (Maltese Dictionary, 1796); and "Motti, Aforismi e Proverbi Maltesi" (1828); Aguis de Soldanis: "Grammatici Punico-Maltese" (1750), &c. &c.

matian coast. It is almost needless adding that Corsica, Elba, and Malta are "unredeemed" (p. 234). In truth, if such a principle were for a moment allowed, the ancient Roman Empire would be threatened, and every land in which a dialect of the Latin tongue is spoken would have quite as good a claim to be Italian territory as the countries mentioned. In some respects the "right" of Italy to these so-called portions of Italian territory is quite as shadowy as it is to Spain or France, whose Latin dialects still prevail, or to Roumania, where one still more closely allied to the ancient language is spoken, or to any other country which has kept some of the mother tongue of the Italians, or of some of the emigrants who poured across her borders. It is entirely a question of degree. In none of the regions in question were the Italians the original inhabitants, and in many instances these are in an inconspicuous minority. Take the Trentino, for example. Though the Italian language is spoken there, and most of the people desire to be thought Italians rather than Germans, yet unquestionably many of those speaking the tongue of Italy are in face and appearance decidedly German, either of Rhætian origin—the Rhætians being the inhabitants before the Roman conquest—or the descendants of the German tribes who overran it, or of wanderers dating from more modern times. This is marked even in the valley of the Trent, in that of Roveredo, and in the district of Riva, or valley of the Scarca, on Lake Garda, which is perhaps the most Italian portion of the whole Italian Tyrol. In like manner the Canton of Ticino and part of the Grisons are peopled by a very mixed race, though speaking Italian, just as many of the Swiss cantons speak French or German, though not on that account making out a case for annexation to either France or Germany, the Helvetian stock often being the ethnic substratum of the region in question. As for the districts speaking the Rhæto-Romance dialects, they need not come into the argument, since it is not seriously contended that they are "unredeemed," though why it is hard to say, if the case is quite as good for them as for their neighbours being annexed to the ambitious kingdom. Görz is, however, more distinctly "Irredenta." Yet even here the Italians are in a ridiculous minority to the Slavonians, who, compared with them, are as nine to one.* Istria is always pronounced to be markedly Italian; yet when we examine the returns of the population we are not surprised to find that two-thirds of the people are Slavs, though among them there are many differences of dress and dialect. The remaining third, in the coast and towns, is for the most part Italian of a comparatively recent immigrant order. The Istrians were subdued by the Romans only about 177 B.C., and under Augustus the greater part of the peninsula was added to Italy, the proximity of the Imperial capital, which had then been removed to Ravenna, doing much to Italianise Istria, which naturally reaped many advantages from its proximity to a city so wealthy, and politically so powerful. Yet, though it was pillaged by German tribes, and was for a time part of Pepin's Frankish kingdom, and of the dominions of the Dukes of Bavaria, the German population is very small. In like manner, the original stock have been comparatively slightly affected, so far as the denationalising of their blood is concerned, by their annexation to old Italy, to the Republic of Venice, or to the modern Empire of Austria. Trieste, again, the very mention of which arouses

* Von Czörnig: "Das Land Görz und Gradisca" (1873-74); Siebert: Görz, "Stadt und Land" (1860).

all the patriotic fury of the good Italian, though for the most part Italian so far as language goes, is of Slav origin, the modern name being derived from the Slavonian Térst, just as the Roman Tergestum was. For more than fourteen centuries it was under



AT THE FOUNTAIN IN THE PIAZZA SANTA ANNA, VALETTA.

the control of either the Romans or their descendants, Austria having been its master only since 1382, so that it is not surprising to find Italian more generally spoken than German, in what, with an indifferent regard to truth, is designated "the most loyal of towns."

Lastly, Dalmatia, which is at present, and for the best part of a century has been, a

crown land of Austria, is described as Italian. In reality, only ten and a half per cent. of the people are of Italian origin, about eighty-nine per cent. being Morlacks—that is, Dalmatians proper—who, however, are an offshoot of the Servian branch of the Slavs, and speak that dialect of the Slavonic tongue known as Illyrian. The remainder of the Dalmatians are Jews and Albanians, an ethnological analysis which the history of the country very fully explains.* Though the Dalmatians had been attacked and made to pay tribute as early as 156 B.C., it was not until the reign of Augustus that their country was constituted a Roman province, and it was only under the later emperors that the region was completely Romanised. In the seventh century Heraclius settled a large Slav population in the province, and in the ninth century Croatian princes and Croatian influence were all-powerful. Then the Venetians appeared on the scene, till, in 1091, the Hungarians became the dominant scramblers for the lordship of Dalmatia. Again the Venetians managed to establish their power, until, in 1797, the Austrians became masters, though as late as 1869 they had to suppress an insurrection in the exclusively non-German, but not the less non-Italian, portion of the Empire.

A few words regarding the people employing the Rhæto-Romance dialect may not inappropriately conclude the discussion of this question of the political bearing and limits of Italic dialects identical with or closely allied to those spoken in Italy. Ticino and the southernmost valleys of the Grisons may, we have seen (p. 316), be regarded as speaking Italian as pure as is spoken anywhere out of Tuscany. But in the valleys of the Grisons along the upper tributaries of the Rhine, and in the mountainous region between these streams and the banks of the Upper Inn, and to a less marked degree eastward in some Tyrolese valleys in Austrian territory, the dialect spoken, though belonging to the Italic family of tongues, is now generally recognised as a thoroughly independent Neo-Latin speech, quite as much entitled to this designation as Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Roumanian, and the two French dialects known as the *Langue d'oc* and *Langue d'oïl* (p. 232), regarding which we may have something to say in the course of our next volume. Of this language there are two distinct dialects. In the Engadine, the Albula, and Münster valleys, the people speak the “Ladin,” similar, perhaps, to the “Latin” mentioned by Livy as chattered by the Roman peasants or the *lingua rustica* of other writers; while in the valleys of Disentis, and Ilanz, in Schams, Oberhalbstein, and the neighbouring country, the Romance, Rumonsh, or Romanic branch of the tongue is in use. The following translation of Psalm xcvi., verses 2, 3, is often given as a specimen of the dialect:—“Chante al Segner, celebre sieu nom, annunze ognī di sieu salüd. Requinte traunter ils pövels sia gloria, traunter tuottas naziuns sias ovras müravigliusas.” Who the Rhæto-Romance people are has been stoutly debated, with the usual result, that the widest liberty of selection is allowable among the rival theories promulgated. There can, however, be little doubt that the basis of the race were the old Rhætians—who seem at one time to have been more widely distributed than at present—mixed with the Romans—or at least the Latin-speaking people—who, between the years 16 and 12 B.C., completed the subjugation of the Alpine Highlands, and maintained their supremacy there until the Empire broke up under the shock of the Teutonic hordes. Pressed on two sides by the fresh arrivals, the Rhæto-Romance

* Noe: “Dalmatien und seine Inselwelt” (1870).

populations became, at a period before history takes a very clear cognisance of them, cooped up in the unattractive regions where they are at present found. Even now their speech ranks among the doomed languages of Europe. It is still very generally used among the people, just as Welsh, or Gaelic, or Erse is in certain parts of Wales, or the Scottish Highlands and Islands, or Ireland. But in the Grisons the dominant German is every year gaining a firmer and a more extensive foothold, and being the language of the schools, is understood, spoken, and written by the younger folk with as great facility as it is among the people of German Switzerland; and in Tyrol, where Ladin was at one time almost the universal medium of communication between all classes, it is now confined to the two valleys of Gröden and Enneberg. In brief, Rhæto-Romance is in the north getting supplanted by German, in the south by Italian. An attempt has, however, been made of late to perpetuate it as a literary language by adding to the books, chiefly religious, written in Romance, a number of educational works, though we are not aware that the people entertain any of the mischievous political ideas with which the "Italia Irredenta" party have not very successfully infected some portions of the regions indicated.

An ethnologist has no time, and less patience, to discuss these political baubles. The enterprising Italian is, however, as we have seen, making new Italies for himself wherever he finds it to his convenience to settle. Emigration has of late years proceeded so rapidly that the Government has grown alarmed. In the old times, the fiddler, the singer, the man with the monkey, and the boy with the plaster images, were about the only Italian emigrants. At a later date the seller of cheap ices made his appearance on our streets; and about the same period a terrible plague came upon Northern Europe in the shape of the Italian organ-grinder. The juvenile beggars and the children practising vagrant callings—"professioni girovaghe"—duly followed, until the hulking "padrone" had imported, by a system of white slavery—or "Tratta dei Bianchi," as the Italians call it—thousands of boys and girls, under a form of sham apprenticeship, in order to be ruined, so far as they themselves were concerned, and to become a disgrace to the country which has now done its best to prevent the continuance of the abuse. There is, nevertheless, in the London streets off Saffron Hill, and in the courts of Drury Lane, an "Italia Irredenta," which the opulent instrument-makers of Hatton Garden might patriotically redeem from vice and barbarism.

The regular Italian emigration is almost entirely confined to the warmer portions of America. Australia and the South African colonies receive comparatively few, and Canada almost none, of these lovers of sunshine. Within the last few years, partly, no doubt, from Garibaldi's connection with the country, the Argentine Republic, and the River Plate region generally, have been favoured with a large share of the Italian overflow. There the fresh arrivals take to most kinds of industries. Nearly all the river craft are in their hands; and on the west coast they are the best fishermen between Victoria and Valparaiso. They are the masons, the navvies, the bricklayers, the joiners, the gardeners, and the tillers of the soil, though they seem averse from sheep and cattle tending. As soon as a settler thinks of building a house, in no matter how distant a portion of the provinces, the Italian bricklayers will by a kind of instinct make their appearance, and with the handiness peculiar to their ingenious race, begin to dig the clay, shape the

bricks, and fashion them into the semblance of a dwelling. When the Italian makes enough of money—he is content with little—he generally returns, and then his success acts as an invaluable advertisement for the regions where gold is to be so easily picked up. It is nothing uncommon for Italian labourers to come to Buenos Ayres in October—the spring of the Southern hemisphere—to work at shearing, at the harvests, &c., and return with their earnings in March to resume the same labour at home. This he will do for several consecutive years, the communication between the two countries being so rapid, and the fares so low.* The Italian peasant has so little comfort at home that to sleep anywhere and anyhow are no privations to him, while the abundance of animal food, which he can obtain for next to nothing, savours of a carnal paradise. Strangely enough, too, he blends better with his countrymen in the Pampas than he does with them at home. Most of the Italians who come seeking work in South America are unlettered men unacquainted with the literary Italian. Hence the Lombards, Genoese, and Neapolitans, find it easier to learn the Spanish tongue as a common medium of communication than to forget their own uncouth dialects in favour of the more difficult Tuscan. When many of these Italians collect in one locality they form a regular municipality, and returning home after earning a competency, or with sufficient to start fair in the Old World, teach their countrymen some of the better lessons they have learned in the New. These men are, therefore, the real “redeemers” of Italy; and the “Italia Irredenta,” which they are yearly winning towards enlightenment and good government, lies within, and not without, the bounds of King Humbert’s realm.†

* Egerton in “Report of her Majesty’s Secretaries of Embassy and Legation” (1881), pp. 144, 145.

† Villardi’s “L’Italia sotto l’aspetto, fisico, storico,” &c. (1881-85); Howells: “Venetian Life” (1869); “Italian Journeys” (1883); Story: “Roba di Roma” (1863); “Graffiti d’Italia” (1868); Heckethorn: “Roba d’Italia” (1875); Hare: “Italian Cities” (1876); Muzzi: “Vocabolario geografico-storico-statistico dell’Italia” (1873-74); Stivieri: “Geografia e statistica commerciale del Regno d’Italia” (1879); Pinelli: “Raccolta di 50 Costumi li pui interessante del Regno di Napoli (1814); and “Nuova Raccolta di cinquanta costume Pittoreschi” (1816), &c. &c.

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